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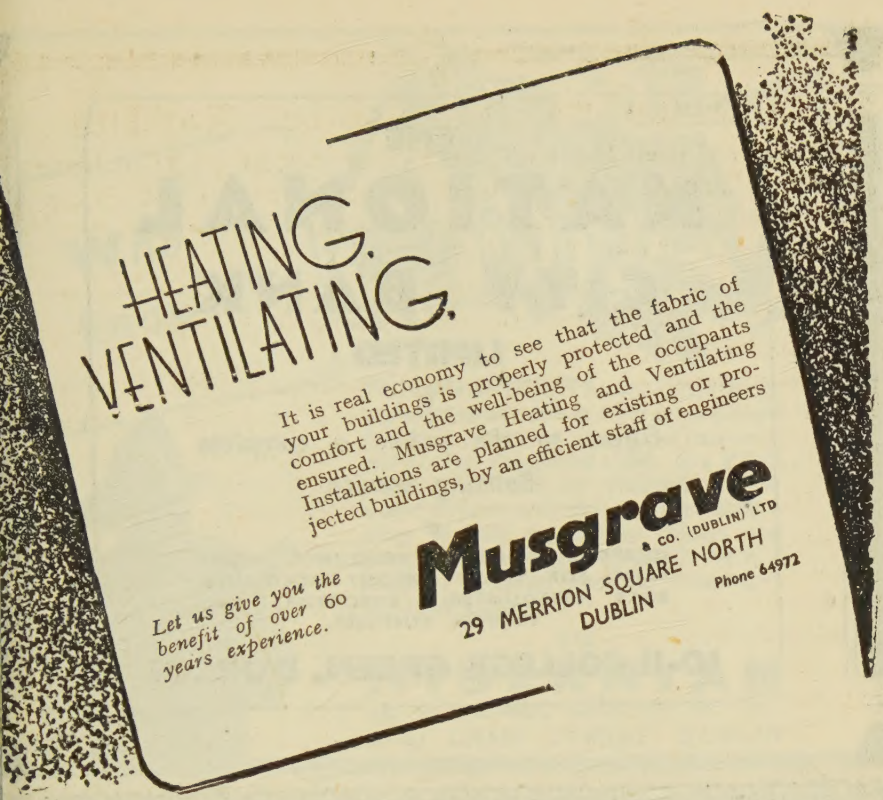
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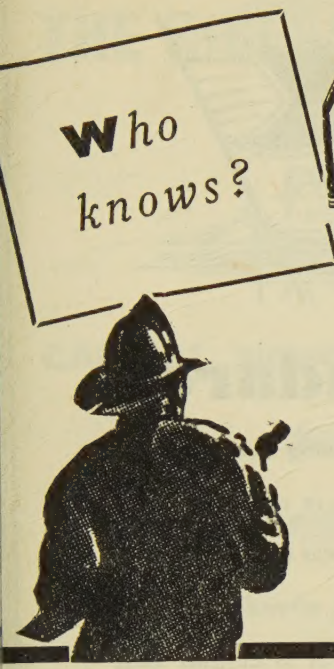

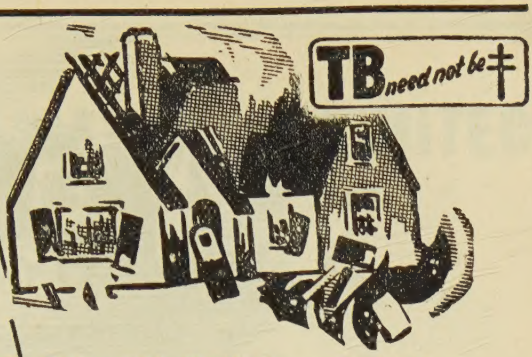

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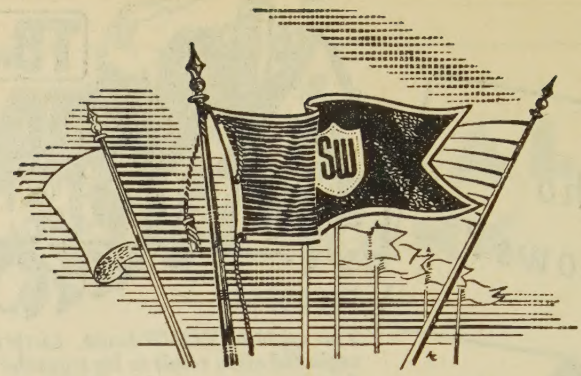

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PUBLIC HEALTH PLANNING

BY PROFESSOR T. W. T. DILLON, M.D.

THE Public Health has recently become front-page news in Éire. Up to a few years ago the only references to the subject were the criticisms of outspoken doctors and the soothing statements of the Minister in his annual reports to the Dáil. The origin of the recent revival of interest may perhaps be traced to the report published by the National Health Insurance Society in 1940, which lifted a corner of the discreet veil concealing the deplorable truth. The anti-tuberculosis campaign inaugurated by the Academy of Medicine and then taken up by the Irish Red Cross, which has produced a series of reports on various aspects of the Tuberculosis Problem, and an interesting study of rheumatism by the National Health Insurance Society are further landmarks in the development of public interest.

These two diseases, Tuberculosis and Rheumatism, have much in common since they both raise the fundamental problem of the relationship between poverty and chronic disease. Malnutrition is probably the main connecting link—with bad housing as an auxiliary factor.

We have been slow to face the unpleasant facts of malnutrition, deficient clothing, and deplorable housing, to which much of the chronic ill-health in our cities and rural slums is due. We are still reluctant to admit our extreme poverty in qualified experts and well-equipped institutions, which makes it doubly difficult to cope with the mass of preventable disease.

This classical vicious circle produces, as troublesome by-products, shortage of hospital and sanatorium beds, inadequate staffing of existing hospitals, overworked and underpaid dispensary doctors, and a general tendency to lay the blame on anyone except ourselves. Another alarming by-product of this long neglect, now suddenly realized as a shameful thing, is that public health threatens to become the storm centre of antagonistic social and political doctrines—all equipped with detailed blueprints for an expensive and radiant hygienic future.

This planning fever, which after a prolonged incubation in Moscow has now swept through the world, may prove a beneficent pandemic, if we realize clearly both our limitations and the limits set by the inexorable laws of human liberty. Nothing can be gained and much would certainly be lost by any attempt to force, on an unwilling population, a compulsory programme of health regimentation; no plan, however acceptable, can have any chance of success without a very large increase in the supply of fully trained specialists and technical personnel. Before we decide on future health policy, we should meditate on our past mistakes—not for repentance's sake, but so as to avoid the repetition of similar errors

in the future. These mistakes, in brief outline, were: the provisio of an expensive public health service of highly paid experts withou equipment or technical assistance to make their task possible; th financial starvation of our medical schools and research laboratories; the inadequate staffing of all medical services—educational, preventiv and therapeutic; and the long neglect of poverty as a cause of disease If we are to spend money on public health, we must so allocate ou expenditure that every pound will produce its maximum effect, both i the immediate and the remote future, over the whole field; and we shoul not arbitrarily separate off some single sector for intensive treatment— e.g. housing—to the neglect of the rest. Unless indeed it is a key secto and our funds are strictly limited. In this event there can be little doub that the largest return for money spent can be obtained by feeding an clothing our children and adolescents. That is the only single simpl measure which would have a certain swift effect on the prevalence o tuberculosis, juvenile rheumatism, rickets, gastroenteritis and so man other poverty diseases.

But if we have any more money to spend after this is done, the lesson of our past experience teach us that it must be distributed proportionall over all sectors, so that development at one point shall not be hampere and checked by atrophy elsewhere. Magnificent hospitals distribute at strategic centres all over the country are useless unless we can provid a steady flow of fully trained men and women to run them; and th best planned housing settlements are of little use if the people living i them are half-starved.

When we approach this problem of allocation we are faced immediatel with difficulties as yet insoluble, arising from ignorance of essential facts e.g., what fraction of our national income can and should be spent o Public Health, how shall that fraction be extracted from an unwillin public, and what is to be our future policy with regard to the export o medical graduates and other skilled public health personnel to England The answers to these questions depend on decisions of public polic which have not yet been announced. We must assume, however, tha for many years to come we cannot neglect the probable repercussion o English plans—which will certainly affect conditions in Northern Ireland— on our own problems and their solution. It is unnecessary in a sho article to summarize the detailed plans which have been set out by Englis authorities in three reports[1] and published within the last year. We ca however, select a few salient points and principles bearing directly o our own difficulties. The main principles underlying the English pro posals are three :—

[1] 1. White Paper on Social Insurance, Cmd. 6550 (see *Economist*, Sept. 30, 1944).
2. A National Health Service, (H. M. Stationery Office, 1944).
3. Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Medical Schools, (H. M. Station Office, 1944).

(1). That optimal nutrition should be assured to all sections of the population in health and disease, whether the family wage earner is employed or not. They propose to ensure this by a combination of all-in insurance, family allowances and a further development of school meals and factory canteens. The cost of these proposals is estimated at 502 million pounds in 1945, rising to a maximum of 666 million pounds in 1975.

(2). That all medical services should be co-ordinated under a Central Board which shall provide a full range of free medical services to all sections of the population. The details of the proposed arrangements, particularly as regards the balance between the State Service and the free practitioners, are at present subject to stormy public discussion. But all are agreed on the necessity of co-ordination and the advisability of providing for most of the community on an insurance basis. The total cost of these proposals is estimated at 148 million pounds in 1945 for England and Scotland as against a present cost of some sixty millions. The total cost will rise to a peak figure of 170 million pounds or approximately three times the present cost.

(3). That the facilities for medical education in hospitals and medical schools should be expanded and improved, with particular reference to the provision of increased opportunities for research in all branches of medicine and for the training of specialists and technicians. The estimated cost will be approximately eight million pounds[1] for capital expenditure and three million pounds annually in addition to moneys already available. Of these sums it is proposed to allot the lion's share to university medical schools. Thus the total ordinary annual expenditure of these schools under present conditions is to be raised from £1,200,000 to a maximum of £3,700,000, or an increase of 200 per cent.; and four million pounds is to be allotted to them for capital expenditure within the next ten years.

The salient features of these plans, which represent a new departure in English practice, are the pronounced insistence on the primary importance of university education and research; the stress laid on prevention of disease by maintaining optimum nutrition in childhood and adolescence; and the general agreement that the middle classes must be fully provided for, on an insurance basis, in any public health scheme.

We cannot afford to neglect any of these fundamental considerations in the planning of future policy. Our university medical schools are far behind English schools both in staffing and, to a less extent, in buildings and equipment. If we do not keep pace with the English Schools, the inevitable final result will be the loss of reciprocity with England—with

[1] I have rounded off the estimates given in the Interdepartmental Report, which are admittedly very speculative.

a subsequent fall in the general level of medical efficiency in Southern Ireland. This decay of medical practice will certainly result from the contraction of opportunities for post-graduate experience and study. At least 50 per cent. of that experience in the early post-graduate years is gained in England, even by those graduates who finally settle in Ireland. If we intend to sacrifice this incalculable benefit which accrues to us from the reciprocity agreement, we must face the necessity of future expenditure on post-graduate education on a scale proportionally much larger than is envisaged in the English plans. For, if we failed to provide these additional post-graduate facilities at present available in England without cost to us, our medical services would, in the absence of a reciprocity agreement, atrophy and decay. We must, therefore, give a high priority to the financial needs of our medical schools and teaching hospitals in any allocation of funds. For the rest we must be content with a seriatim approach to our problems; and this for two reasons. First, we lack the necessary men to do the job; second, we may not be able to afford the cost. I am not thinking here of any abstruse and out-of-date calculations based on high interest rates and heavy repayment annuities. It we persist in mumbling these respectable but outworn shibboleths, we shall never start, much less finish, the job. But we cannot escape the fundamental limitations set by our National Income,[1] which has proved extremely inelastic in the past and may well be even more disappointing in the future.

Broadly speaking our National Income stands to the English National Income in the proportion of one to 45—i.e. approximately 200 million pounds are earned by us and 9000 millions by them every year. Our population is in the ratio of 1 to 15·5—i.e. 3 millions in Eire, 46·5 millions in Great Britain. The total expenditure proposed in the English public health plans will amount at its peak for Great Britain to about 170 million pounds. If we proposed to plan our medical services on the same scale we should need to spend proportionately a good deal more, since the prevalence of Tuberculosis and Rheumatism, both expensive diseases as the National Health Insurance Society knows to its cost, is much higher in this country than in England. A reasonable estimate of the corresponding expenditure in Éire, taking into account the relative populations, is, at present money values, £13·7 millions.[2] Our present expenditure is about £4·5 millions. To this must be added expenditure on social services, on which the English propose to spend eventually £661 millions annually. Here again we are in a less favourable position since our families are more numerous, our cost of living much higher

[1] In calculating the Irish National Income I have made allowance for recent inflation. The estimates published by Dr. Duncan for 1938-40 showed an estimated level of £179 millions in the year 1940. *Journ. Stat. & Soc. Inquiry Soc. Ire.* Vol. xvi, p. 140.

[2] I have increased the calculated cost for Éire in the proportion of 1·25/1·00 to allow for high Tuberculosis and Rheumatism prevalence. This is certainly an understatement

and our adolescent unemployment exceptionally great. But there are certain countervailing factors which make it fairly reasonable to calculate on the basis of strict proportionality. Let us therefore strike the balance at the corresponding figure for Éire : £42·6 millions. The grand total of combined social services and Public Health on the English scale would therefore amount to approximately £56·3 millions or rather more than 25 per cent. of the National Income. The present cost is calculated to amount to approximately £19 million. This includes Health Services, Social Insurance and Assistance, and other social services—e.g. widows and orphans pensions, family allowances, etc.

Our attitude to these figures will depend on the weight we attach to such factors as the economic multiplier, balanced budgets, high taxation and the relative rigidity of agricultural productive capacity in Éire over the last thirty years. But whatever our views or hopes may be, it is clear that such a large transfer of purchasing power from the healthy and affluent to the poor and sickly sections of the community would involve a considerable strain on our social and financial structure. It would also mean a great increase in the internal market for the agricultural products which are produced most advantageously in this country—milk, butter, eggs and bacon—and therefore presumably a diminution in our export trade, unless it were accompanied by a marked increase in agricultural output. But we can safely leave these economic considerations to the experts and pass on to a brief consideration of the proposals before the Irish public for the solution of our public health problems.

Dr. Collis's Carmichael essay was first in the field ; it was discussed in a former article.[1] Some of the basic ideas contained in it reappear in a modified form in the Vocational Commission's report.[2] Finally, Most Rev. Dr. Dignan has recently published a general scheme of all-in insurance[3] in which all public health services would be controlled by the Council of the new organisation, the Central Social Insurance Board. The Irish Medical Association is preparing a Scheme which has not yet been published in its final form, but which is known to contain proposals for a Health Council.

All these schemes have one proposal in common, the organization of all Public Health Services under a Central Council, assisted by regional Councils. We may, therefore, assume that this proposal will be adopted in the near future : and there is no doubt that it will be a major advance toward coherent treatment of our problems.

The Vocational Commission provides a detailed plan of professional organization separate from and parallel to the Health Council, and stresses the necessity for a gradual approach to the full development of health

[1] *Studies*, December 1943.
[2] Report of Vocational Commission, 1944.
[3] Outlines of a Scheme of National Health Insurance, published in the daily press of October 18, 1944.

services based on a solid basis of interlocked multi-vocational organization The Commission's proposals include ample safeguards against undu interference by the State with the work of the Vocational Councils. Th advantages of this plan are that it provides for full independence fro state-control and the formation of an educated public opinion by th issue of annual reports. Only in this way, I am convinced, can we hop to create the necessary public co-operation for the very arduous tas and the great financial sacrifices which are involved in the provision c full social and public health services.

Dr. Dignan's scheme must be regarded as a final objective, whic can only be attained after years of careful preparation. No estimat of cost is supplied in the paper, but a comparison of the benefits set ou with those detailed in the English White Paper indicates that the co of Dr. Dignan's proposals will not fall far short of the English level s far as Public Health is concerned. This would indicate that the additiona expenditure on Public Health suggested is in the neighbourhood of £ millions annually. It should, however, be remembered that this sur would be offset by a considerable diminution in the amounts at presen paid out by the middle and upper classes for private medical care. An there is no doubt that competent medical services would, in a very sho time, greatly reduce the social cost of disease to the community. Th National Health Insurance Society under Dr. Dignan's chairmanshi has earned, by hard work and good service, the confidence of the publi But it may be questioned whether it can hope in the near future to ove come the natural prejudices of the State, the medical profession and th taxpayer against such a large scale transference of control, both financi and executive, to a Council which, however representative, will inevitabl be regarded as the heir and successor of the present Society.

There is, I feel, a good deal to be said for the adoption of a short-ter policy which is planned to lead up to and merge in a long-term pla Some scale of priorities must be established. Otherwise we risk di couragement and the collapse of over-ambitious structures.

Everyone may choose for themselves in these matters ; but the ultima responsibility rests on the Government and the Oireachtas of decidi what we should attempt now and what shall be our final objective. M own personal preference would be for a seriatim approach based on strong vocational organization with the minimum of State interferenc I believe we should choose as our immediate urgent tasks three, each which will yield a high return for the money expended. First, we shou ensure adequate nutrition, clothing and housing for our children a adolescents in the most economical way possible. This will invo serious investigation of such neglected possibilities as differential ren school meals, factory canteens and the provision of cheap clothing a rent relief in place of cash by the public assistance authorities. Secon

e should greatly increase the financial provision for research and post-raduate training in all branches of medicine. Our medical schools at resent produce more graduates than we need. But the proportion of ully-trained specialists and research workers amongst our graduates s probably the lowest in Europe. This is easy to understand since, in his as in many other branches of the export trade, it requires less capital esources and less highly-paid skilled labour to produce the half-finished rticle. Our universities have very little working capital in the shape f buildings and equipment, and are compelled by lack of income to cut lown the teaching staff to a minimum. The result is that we have not he men nor the machines available to run a complete public health scheme n Éire. We could of course tempt specialists from abroad, many of them our own graduates from England ; but we should need to offer high salaries f we meant to have really competent men. And even then they would oe largely paralysed, as so many of our Public Health Officers have been in the recent past, unless we provided the necessary background of research laboratories and post-graduate hospital departments to enable them to do their job. The capital cost of providing these necessary background facilities will amount probably to between two and three million pounds. The additional annual cost in salaries and material would, however, be relatively small ; it would certainly not exceed half-a-million pounds yearly.

My third proposal is a full scale attack on Tuberculosis. For this we have already about one half to one third of the necessary personnel, especially in the higher grades. The ground has been thoroughly explored, and we know enough already to ensure us against any major errors. The capital cost would amount to approximately three million pounds and the running costs, apart from interest on capital and repayment annuities, to £1–1·5 millions, of which we are spending already about £0·5 million. The capital cost would overlap to some extent with that considered above for the universities and teaching hospitals.

The adoption of this short-term programme would not exclude a steady advance along the whole front ; indeed all three items would, in so far as they were successful, greatly facilitate the main advance. Improved nutrition and housing would certainly result in a marked decrease of chronic disease ; the Tuberculosis Campaign would reduce rapidly the economic wastage of young life and productive capacity resulting from this disease ; and the university and hospital build-up would provide the necessary men and machines for the bigger task. Moreover, much of the capital investment released by the reduction of malnutrition and of tuberculosis could be applied to the remaining sectors of the Public Health field. And finally, the public would learn from experience that it pays, even in the short run, to spend generously on prevention rather than parsimoniously on partial cure.

T. W. T. Dillon

THE WEAPON AND THE TOOL

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

THE two great wars which have disfigured the world in this tragic generation have been profoundly different in many essential respects. When their history comes to be written in proper perspective the developments caused by aerial and tank warfare will doubtless fascinate the student of military affairs. The contrasts in the economic field will appear no less striking. Many of the mistakes committed in the first war have not been repeated. Many lessons in wartime finance that were learnt in 1914-18 have been remembered and acted upon in the last few years. Owing to the establishment of that great international financial institution, the Bank for International Settlements, it is possible to obtain a lofty bird's eye view of the economic and financial conduct of the war by all the belligerents. Situated in the centre of Europe, in constant correspondence with every country in the world, neutral in its behaviour and sympathies to an almost inhuman degree, the B.I.S. is in a unique position to describe and to criticize the world's war effort. The Bank's Thirteenth Annual Report[1] is an invaluable record and a fascinating picture of the economics of a world at war.

The first impression derived from the Report is the similarity of the economic policy of the principal belligerents. In spite of the differences in their political ideology and their social structure, Germany, Great Britain and the U.S.A. have tackled their economic problems on very similar lines. The fact, of course, is that those countries remember the mistakes they made in the first world war. Moreover, the problems to be solved in every belligerent country are identical. They are the mobilization of the last reserves of manpower and the rationalization of production. The mobilization of manpower is attained by employing foreign workers, by absorbing the unemployed, by lengthening the hours of work, by postponing the age of retirement, by the earlier recruitment of juveniles, and by the greater employment of women. There is no unemployment problem in belligerent countries. Their difficulty is shortage, not a superabundance, of labour. The rationalization of production involves the standardization of models, concentration of production and simplification of the machinery of distribution. The output for civilian purposes of many consumer's goods, especially durable goods such as houses, motors and radio-sets, is drastically reduced. The increased production resulting from the increased labour effort and from greater industrial efficiency and the reduction of civilian consumption are the two principal real sources from which contributions to the costs of war are derived. The other sources are reductions in government expenditure other than for war purposes, in maintenance and replacement charges

[1] Basle 1943.

nd in private investment. Stocks are depleted. Finally, external disıvestment takes place when foreign assets are utilized to pay for imports.

The following table shows the costs of the war and the real sources f contribution to these costs in the U.K. and the U.S.A. expressed as ercentages of the pre-war gross national incomes of the two countries.

Pre-war Gross National Income=100	U.K.	U.S.A.
Costs of the war (increase in government expenditure)	48·4	46·5
Derived from :		
Increased production	20	51·2
Reduced consumption	11·2	–8·7
Reduced private investment and disinvestment	17·2	4

It is remarkable that the American war effort was compatible with a ise in the volume of private consumption. This indicates the vast productive capacity of the U.S.A. and also the extent to which that capacity was not being utilised before the war. Comparable figures for Germany ıre not available, but the Report states that " it may be regarded as certain hat all these sources—increased work, curtailed consumption and drafts on capital—have helped to make possible the redirection of resources for the prosecution of the war."

The value of these statistics is that they enable measurements to be made of the real, as distinguished from the money, costs of the war. The money costs of the war are easily measured, but they are distorted by the changes in the value of money that inevitably take place in wartime. Moreover, it is the human efforts and sacrifices and the using-up of scarce material resources that constitute the real costs of any transaction. In probing beneath the money costs to the real costs modern statisticians are true to the tradition of the great classical economists who were concerned mainly with relating values to the efforts and sacrifices, the toil and trouble, of men. The labour theory of value has not survived criticism, but it was at least an attempt to solve the central problem of economics, namely, whether prices reflect any exertion that deserves to be rewarded. Modern economic theory has erected an edifice founded on the theory of opportunity cost which allows no place for the ethical leanings of the classical economists. This new development has been severely criticized, on the one hand, by Marxian and, on the other hand, by Catholic economists. These critics, however they may differ on other subjects, agree in attempting to reconstruct a labour theory of value. Modern economic theory has also tended to concentrate on monetary movements without sufficient regard to the underlying real movements which they veil. The undue concentration on the monetary aspects of economic life is a reversion to Mercantilism, the pre-scientific economic era. Classical economic

theory was essentially concerned with the relation between human effort and human happiness. Its central problem was the ever-topical question, how much stuff can be obtained for a day's labour? The same question applied to the affairs of nations calls for precisely the type of information contained in the Report of the B.I.S.

It is the shortages of men, machines and materials which set the final limit to a nation's war effort. To direct these resources to the disposal of the government and away from the satisfaction of civilian wants is the task of war finance. The real cost figures show what takes place; the financial figures show how it takes place. Earlier Reports of the B.I.S. formulated a hierarchy of methods of providing money to meet government expenditure graded according to their efficacy in resisting inflation. The hierarchy was as follows: (*a*) taxation, (*b*) borrowing of genuine current savings, (*c*) expansion of commercial bank credits, (*d*) expansion of central bank credits. A comparison of the government financing of the war in Germany and the United Kingdom in the years 1940-42 reveals a striking similarity.

Source of funds covering government expenditure, 1940-2.	Germany	U.K.
	as percentages of total expenditure internally financed.	
Taxation and other current revenue	48·9	49·9
Borrowing other than from the central and commercial banks	35·1	34·2
Total	84·0	84·1
Borrowing from the commercial banks	10·2	12·5
Borrowing from the central bank	5·8	3·4
Total	16·0	15·9
	100	100

Although the finance of the two belligerents appears very "sound" by whatever criterion it is tested, inflationary elements are present. It must be remembered that the buying power in the hands of the public is stimulated in wartime by the increase in the numbers employed, the longer hours and rising wages. At the same time the production of civilian requirements is being cut down (or, in the exceptional case of the U.S.A., increased at a much less rapid rate). It is this disparity between money incomes and available consumers' goods that constitutes the

' inflationary gap " that will lead to rising prices unless suitable measures ıre taken. It is obvious that the creation of new purchasing power based ɔn bank credit will tend to widen this gap. If the principles of war economy ɔould be carried to their logical conclusion, all purchases would have to ɔe authorized either by the possession of coupons or by special permit. Since such a system would be administratively top-heavy and wasteful ɔf resources required in other directions, some compromise between it ınd an unregulated free market must be devised. The object of an anti-inflationary policy is to reduce new purchasing power to the minimum ınd to pursue and capture any new purchasing power that does come into existence. Seven methods have been used in the campaign against inflation : (i) taxation, (ii) forced and semi-forced saving, (iii) stimulation of direct investment in government securities, (iv) restricting private lending, (v) preventing credit creation based on export surpluses, (vi) control of prices and subsidies, (vii) checking increases of prices of capital assets.

There is general agreement about the methods that should be adopted to combat the evil of inflation. The success of such measures is not uniform in different countries. The increase in the cost of living has been much greater in some countries than in others. For example, the percentage increase in the cost of living between June, 1939 and June, 1943 was 10 in Germany, 27 in the U.S.A., 28 in the U.K., 54 in Portugal, 60 in Eire, 129 in Bulgaria, and 332 in Roumania. The mere fact that the cost of living has risen does not in itself provide evidence of an inflation. Before the existence of inflation can be proved it must be shown that the national income has expanded more rapidly than the supply of consumers' goods. In some countries the national income has expanded but slightly, and the rise in the cost of living has been caused by rising prices of imports reflecting real factors—for example, freight and insurance charges. A patient suffering from pneumonia will have a high temperature, but every person with a high temperature is not suffering from pneumonia. The most typical cases of inflation are countries—for example, Iceland, Egypt and India—where large war expenditure is financed from external sources. With the exception of these and similarly situated countries and of some of the Balkan countries where very unsound methods of finance have been practised, the degree of inflation in the present war is considerably less than in the first world war. The greatest danger of inflation will be after the war, but here again the lessons of the last war will not be forgotten.

The question is frequently asked why it is that the State can spend so much more liberally in war than in peace. The way it is usually put is that, if it is possible for a government to spend, for example, £15,000,000 a day in war, it should be equally possible to spend the same amount on housing, hospitals and other peacetime amenities. It must be admitted that the field of legitimate public expenditure is considerably wider than it used to be and that it is growing in the light of modern study of the

unemployment problem. Nevertheless the scope for even the most ambitious programme of public works falls far short of the possibilities of the expenditure of a government engaged in war.

It may not be out of place to say a word about one difference between war and peace that is not strictly relevant to the question under discussion. When the possibilities of replacing an individualist by a planned economic system are being debated, the point is always properly made that the aim of the planning authority is clearer and more defined in war than in peace. In war the aim of all activity is the defeat of the enemy. Whatever differences may arise regarding the best methods by which this can be attained, the end itself is clear. It is an end on which universal agreement will be found. Any dissenting minority will be silent or silenced. In peacetime the end of economic planning can doubtless be defined as the welfare of the people, but there is room for the greatest possible diversity of opinion about what type of production will conduce to such general welfare. There will be widespread disagreement, which can be fully expressed, not only about the means but about the ends of policy. Moreover, in wartime the government has the power to impose its plans on the country. The ordinary safeguards of individual liberty are for the time suspended. The whole population is regimented. The difficulties of peacetime planning are not, however, insuperable, and planned economies in peacetime have functioned in recent years. No such planned economy has, however, spent as much in peace as in war. If a planned economic system were to contain all the conditions of successful planning—agreement regarding the definition of welfare, the disregard of dissenting minorities, the regimentation of labour—it would meet the same problems as an individualist system if it attempted a war economic policy in peacetime.

A war presents all the features of a boom—full employment, increased investment and rising prices. So true is this that some economic historians have correlated the periods of good trade in modern times with periods of threatened or actual war. The boom of wartime is peculiar in that the investment is directed to the production not of consumption goods which would raise the standard of living, but of instruments of destruction. Thus, although there is increased activity, there is no corresponding increased prosperity. It is peculiar in a second respect. One of the factors that help to bring a normal peacetime boom to an end is the satiation of certain wants and the consequent incapacity to find new channels of profitable investment. But the demand of belligerent governments is insatiable. Much of the capital created—for example, warships, aeroplanes and munitions—is doomed shortly to perish and there is an incessant demand for its replacement. The whole apparatus of production is engaged in turning out goods which are not productive. The only thing that brings the wartime boom to an end is the cessation of hostilities. As soon as this happens, the release of the pent-up demand for all sorts of civilian

goods may easily produce a dangerous inflation. The boom associated with the first world war continued until 1920, when the tide turned and a serious slump began. The essence of a boom is the acceleration of investment. All investment is related to an equivalent amount of saving, which may be either voluntary or compulsory. The essence of war finance is to induce people to save voluntarily and, in so far as they fail to do so, to force them to save by taxation, compulsory loans, deferred credits and, as a last desperate resort, inflation. The amount of saving that takes place in wartime is abnormally high. Unless an equally great amount of saving could be secured in peacetime the conditions of the war boom could not be reproduced.

Every act of saving involves a restriction of consumption. This restriction is sometimes masked by the monetary mechanism in which the saving appears to be effected, but it is always possible to trace the connection if the realities of the system are probed. The great public works of antiquity—the pyramids of Egypt, the temples of Greece, and baths and roads of Rome—are melancholy monuments to the abundance of slave labour. The mansions, parks and demesne walls of the Irish landlords were investments rendered possible by the low standard of living of the tenants and cottiers. The gigantic investments of the Industrial Revolution, for example, the railways, were founded upon the low wages of European and colonial workers. Much of the nineteenth century expansion in the United States was based on " the peculiar institution". The first Russian Five Year Plan openly depressed civilian consumption in order to release resources of labour and material for vast works of capital construction. *The Economist* (8 July, 1944) states :—" It was no accident that the years of the first Five Year Plan coincided with one of the worst famines in Russian history. A reduction in the level of consumption was an essential part of the whole scheme without which it could not proceed." The German pre-war economy depressed and taxed wages in the interest of rearmament. Every belligerent country forces its workers to work abnormally hard in return for abnormally low rewards. Can it be suggested that similar conditions could be established in a democratic country in peacetime? The normal incentives in an individualist society require a correlation between effort and reward. In the absence of some variant of slavery or industrial conscription, workers will not provide increased exertion unless they hope to obtain increased rewards. The depression of civilian consumption necessary to secure the abnormal amount of saving associated with wartime expansion would deprive them of this reward. The work would consequently not be forthcoming. There is the further consideration that in wartime workers injure themselves by overwork. Fatigue, accident-proneness and industrial illness have increased in the last five years. If such conditions were tolerated in peacetime, the labour supply would sooner or later be gravely

impaired. In other words, a nation in wartime is prepared to waste it human capital. The problems that arise are not of unemployment bu of overemployment. Manpower is spent as profligately in the factor as on the battlefield.

Wastage of capital of all kinds is, indeed, the distinctive feature o war economics. Progress depends upon the accumulation of abundan capital. Every country with a high standard of living has, either as result of its own saving in the past or of having borrowed abroad, larg stocks of capital of all kinds. The present generation is sometimes in clined to take too much for granted on this matter and to forget the sacr fices made by past generations in accumulating the capital on which i comfort so largely depends. Houses, public buildings, streets, railway factories, shops—all the requirements of an advanced economic socie necessitate saving on the part of somebody in the past. The greater th stock of capital grows, the more has to be spent every year in keeping it i repair and replacements. Every householder knows that a few year neglect of his house will lead to cumulative damage which may finall prove irreparable. This is equally true of the capital of a nation. Curre investment is of two kinds, firstly, the maintenance intact of existin capital, and, secondly, the production of new capital. In wartime bo types of investment, for other than war purposes, are practically di continued. Expenditure on repairs and maintenance is, whenever possibl postponed, and activities such as new building for civilian purposes a kept to the absolute minimum. On the other hand, much capital is de troyed. Ships perish at sea and aerial warfare inflicts untold dama on land. Moreover, stocks of commodities, which form an importa part of a rich nation's capital, are used up and decumulated. Apart fro the investment which is related to the production of implements of wa fare, war is a period of disinvestment. Some of the factories and pla erected for war purposes will, of course, be capable of being convert to the production of consumers' goods when the swords begin to l beaten into ploughshares. On balance, however, there is no doubt th wars are periods of capital decumulation. The great economic activi of such periods is based on the profligacy of a community living on t savings of the past. Such activity must, of its very nature, prove tempora Any attempt to reproduce it in peacetime would soon lead to nation bankruptcy. Expansion in wartime is the result, largely, of the decumul tion of capital, whereas expansion in peacetime is bound up with t acceleration of productive investment. It is the incapacity of the mark to absorb the products of the new investment that checks every boom

Normal economic expansion in peacetime must always have rega to the foreign balance. Any country that invests too rapidly in the domes field will soon find that its imports are increasing while its exports a diminishing. Unless the country is able to borrow abroad or is will

o sell its existing foreign reserves, corrective action will have to be taken vhich will reduce the speed and volume of the internal expansion. This egard for the foreign balance is one of the limiting factors on a peacetime oom confined to a single nation. In wartime this limiting factor can e very largely ignored. The most rigid exchange control mobilizes very available atom of gold and foreign currencies for the payıent for essential imports. Such external assets, together with all oldings of foreign securities and property of every kind, are acquired rom their owners and used to make payments abroad. Foreign assets re freely dissipated without any attempt to replace them. Nations thus ive on their foreign as well as on their domestic capital accumulations. Moreover, arrangements are made by which imports need not be paid or immediately or in some cases at all. Lend-lease, reciprocal agreements, learing arrangements and payment of occupation costs have been employed o prevent a lack of funds from hampering the flow of goods. In peaceime nations must buy their imports. In war they can beg, borrow or teal. Begging and borrowing from richer allies are not considered a lisgrace. Stronger nations in many cases simply take what they want rom their weaker neighbours, with or without a promise of repayment. Robbery is an accepted method of power politics. Promises to pay may or may not be honoured at some future date. For the moment the important thing is to get the goods without any immediate payment in return. The neutrals, the richer and the weaker neighbours of the principal belligerents pile up claims to be liquidated after the war. It is obvious hat the effort of the belligerents is based on the efforts and savings of foreigners as well as on their own. All these conditions are impossible n peacetime, when, except for short periods of borrowing which must oe repaid, imports have to be paid for by exports.

Sufficient reasons have been given to prove that wartime and peacetime expansion are based on fundamentally different conditions. In wartime abour is wasted, overworked to the point of injurious fatigue and deprived of the reward which normally stimulates increased endeavour. Capital is not maintained intact and is destroyed, while new supplies of capital are devoted solely to belligerent purposes. Imports are paid for by the scattering of valuable foreign assets or by promises of future payment, or are simply not paid for at all. A peacetime expansion can be based only on wages varying with effort, on rapid capital accumulation and on a balanced external account. The pace of wartime expansion can be maintained only for a desperate spurt; the prolonged effort of peacetime must proceed at a steadier pace. The lessons for peacetime to be learnt from the conditions of wartime are not, however, purely negative. Increasing productivity, on which a rising standard of living must be based, depends upon capital accumulation and upon advances in ingenuity and skill. For the realization of the former condition war is definitely

unfavourable, but it has a favourable effect on the latter. The B.I.S Report states that " the war has stimulated invention which has added considerably to the fund of constructive ideas—many of the lessons now learnt may bring a lasting contribution to the solution of problems of production and distribution in the future. . . . Within many fields and for a large number of articles production according to more standardized specifications provides such great advantages that it will certainly be continued, and this will make it possible to charge much less than would be otherwise the case." The study of primitive man reveals that the weapon has always preceded the tool. Ingenuity in forging means of conquering his enemies has led later to improvements in the arts of peace.

There is no question, therefore, that industry will benefit from wartime experience and that the production of many things will be more abundant and cheaper. It does not follow that the standard of living of the community will be raised as rapidly or as greatly as might at first appear. In the present century the pace of progress has slowed down. The great expansion which began in the middle of the eighteenth century was characterized by an increase of population in Europe, by migration to unsettled territories and by revolutionary inventions in manufacture and transport. While this expansion has not terminated, its pace has slackened and everything indicates that it will slacken more. This deceleration in the rate of the world's economic progress is the subject of an extremely original and thought-provoking book by the Economic Adviser to the Federation of British Industries.[1] It is demonstrated with a wealth of statistics that the growth of European production, like that of European population, has taken the form of a flattened S curve. When growth develops beyond a certain point, forces of resistance are encountered which slow it down. " Progressively increasing forces of resistance sooner or later bring all forms of growth to a standstill, whether in an animal population, a single organism, an economic system and its individual industries or, indeed, in an expanding system of any kind." The slackening in the rate of growth of the economic system may mean that we cannot rely on the continuance of the cost-reducing process, known as increasing returns, to which the manufacturing nations have become accustomed. The great expansion of the nineteenth century was reckless and wasteful of natural resources. Overcropping and deforestation destroyed large areas of land and many minerals were wastefully exploited. The world lived on its natural capital resources almost on a wartime scale. In many primary industries the law of diminishing returns is now operating in spite of scientific and technical advances.

If Mr. Glenday's contention that the rate of economic progress is decelerating be correct, it is difficult to deny his conclusion that conditions of overpopulation are setting up a resistance to improving the standard

[1] *The Future of Economic Society*, by Roy Glenday. (Macmillan, 16/–).

f living. Modern biological research has proved that the limiting factor n population growth is not, as Malthus thought, the food supply, but vercrowding. It has been shown experimentally that population growth ways takes the form of a flattened S curve even when food is abundant. he decelerating factor is congestion. Mr. Glenday argues that con-estion in Europe is the cause of the slackening growth of population nd is the limiting factor on raising the standard of living. The sustained nd continuous migration from rural to urban areas is evidence that the ountryside possesses more people than it needs. After a certain point owns become overpopulated in the sense that housing and transport can e increased only at increasing cost. The law of diminishing returns is n operation in these industries. This retards a further increase in the tandard of living. It is not shortage of food, as Malthus predicted, but hortage of space that has proved the limiting factor. The population has o be more tightly packed, and tight packing is uncomfortable. While he cost of producing mass-manufactured products may be reduced, heir very abundance may create difficulties in their enjoyment. One's eighbour's radio set may interfere with one's own; the roads may be o congested with other people's cars that motoring ceases to be a pleasure. The essence of overpopulation is that an increase in the general standard of iving meets with successful resistance. When a country reaches that condi-ion the standard of living of one class can be raised only at the expense f other classes. The era of progress has been replaced by the era of edistribution.

This redistribution is the result largely of the growth of economic galitarianism based on considerations of justice and humanity. It is urther justified on the ground that it increases the demand for consumers' goods and corrects any tendency to over-saving on the part of the rich. n periods of progress it is possible for rich and poor to prosper together, ut in a society where demand has to be sustained by redistribution, one lass prospers at the expense of another and there may be no net advance t all. This is obvious. What is less obvious is that the very process f redistribution itself destroys many amenities. "Most people fail to ealize that, because of certain natural restrictions on the continuing nlargement of our system as a whole, the very poor can never hope to ttain the standard of living of even the rich of to-day. Nowadays the difference in standard between rich and poor depends increasingly on the njoyment of such things as ample space, rare luxuries and articles which re an object of desire only so long as they are restricted to the few; and astly, personal services which can be afforded only so long as there is a vide gap in income between the server and the served." Many inventions were first exploited as luxuries of the rich and afterwards came to be widely njoyed by the poor. The motor car is a good example. The redistribution f income may, by retarding experiments in untried fields, prevent the emer-

gence of products and processes that would raise the standard of living of all. The very rise in the standard of living contains an element which tends to check its own advance. As people become better off they spend a growing proportion of their income on services. Travel, amusement, retail distribution and professional services come into increasing demand. These services, not being capable of mass production or mechanization, do not tend to become progressively cheaper. Reductions in manufacturing costs are more than offset by increased costs of distribution. As the demand for one product after another approaches the point of satiation, selling costs increase still more. Moreover, in such conditions, monopolist and restrictive practices will be adopted by producers. The consuming public will not be allowed to enjoy the full benefit of falling costs. Potential abundance will be withheld. Manufacturers will resort to " birth-control."

There is no question that the pace of economic progress in, at any rate, the capitalist world has slowed down. While production will continue to increase after the war, it will increase at a diminishing rate. The great movement of expansion that lasted throughout the nineteenth century has attained its culmination. The relevance of this deceleration to the problem discussed in this article is that the environment of the post-war world will be unsuitable for the maintenance of activity on anything approaching the wartime level. In addition to the difference between the conditions of war and peace that are always present, there will be encountered the resistances to progress that characterize the later phase of an expansion that has spent its main force. Many of the achievements of the war will have no relevance in the conditions of the post-war world. The industries that have been most spectacularly expanded during the war have been those very mass production industries which will become of relatively decreasing importance. The tertiary industries producing those services which will come into growing demand have been hardly expanded at all during the war. Distribution and other essential services have been rationalized, and of such rationalization some relics may survive; but, generally, the service industries are unimportant to the war effort. Inventions that might possess military value have been eagerly exploited by the State; other inventions have been ignored. Restrictive practices by monopolists are unnecessary in a period of insatiable demand —and, if attempted, would be discountenanced. The whole pattern of demand and supply in wartime is quite different from the pattern that will prevail in the post-war peacetime world. The lessons learnt in the making of the weapons needed for the art of war are inadequate to solve the more difficult problems encountered in making the tools needed for the arts of peace.

GEORGE O'BRIEN

LORD ACTON AND THE POPISH PLOT

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MORE than forty years have gone by since Lord Acton died in the summer of 1902. His reputation for learning and impartial dgment had become a legend at the time of his death. To-day, when e predominantly Whig tradition of English historians has been challenged om many quarters, Acton's reputation has inevitably suffered from the ange of fashion; and his failure to leave any written work at all com-ensurate with the greatness of his fame has dimmed that fame's splen-our. None the less, Lord Acton's is still a great name in the annals of odern English scholarship, and the University of Cambridge, to which e gave the allegiance and service of his last years, has remained on the hole loyal to his memory. In this sixth year of the war, when publishers nd booksellers are everywhere complaining of the shortage of paper nd the increasing demand for books of solid worth, the Syndics of ne Cambridge University Press have chosen to make what must have een a generous allocation of their stock of paper to the reproduction y phototype process of a book which one of Lord Acton's most brilliant oung pupils, then Mr. (now Sir John) Pollock, published just forty-one ears ago and dedicated " to the memory of Lord Acton ".[1]

It is never easy to distinguish clearly between the master's influence nd the disciple's personal contribution. Young Mr. John Pollock (as e was when he wrote and published this book in 1903) had none of cton's astonishing power for the condensation of some generalised truth n a heavily charged epigram; nor did he profess to have more than a mall fraction of his master's encyclopedic knowledge. But he had, what cton lacked, the power to limit his enquiry to a small, but chosen field; nd he could write vividly and well. The subject which, under Lord cton's direction, he chose for his own personal field of research-work as perhaps the most famous of the unsolved mysteries of modern English istory. What were the true underlying causes of the Popish Plot? t was a subject on which Acton himself knew as much as most ther scholars, and a good deal more. Indeed, as General Editor of the ew *Cambridge Modern History*, Acton had reserved to himself a chapter n " The Policy of Charles II and James II," in which the episode of he Popish Plot was inevitably the dramatic climax of a dramatic reign. cton's death in 1902 put an end to this and to many other schemes. Mr. Pollock had good reason to be proud when (in 1906) he himself was nvited by the new editors of the *History* to contribute this chapter in his lead master's place. Before his death Lord Acton had defined the three roblems with which his pupil would be faced in any attempt to solve

[1] *The Popish Plot: A Study in the History of the Reign of Charles II.* By Sir John ollock, Bart. (Cambridge University Press. 1944. 21s.)

the mystery of the Popish Plot. "There are three quite unravelled mysteries," he wrote to the author when he was about to undertake the studies of which this book is the result: "what was going on between Coleman and Père la Chaize; how Oates got hold of the wrong story and who killed Godfrey."

When the book was first published in 1903, Catholics were startled to find that this young Cambridge scholar, trained by the most eminent Catholic historian of his day, had convinced himself that Sir Edmund Godfrey, a popular magistrate of London city whose murder on October 12, 1678, set all England ablaze and ultimately led to the execution of thirty-five good men (including Blessed Oliver Plunket, Lord Stafford and an important group of English Jesuits), had been done to death most deliberately by the Jesuits in the Queen's palace at Somerset House. The main thesis of Sir John Pollock's book is, in effect, that Jesuit intrigue and Jesuit murder were the immediate causes of a tempest which, fanned by the Whig propaganda of Lord Shaftesbury and his fellow-conspirators at the Green Ribbon Club, threatened at one time to sweep the King himself from the throne and came very near to achieving the main purpose of Shaftesbury's intrigues: the exclusion of James II from his rightful inheritance to his brother's throne.

Catholic writers, Jesuits among them, were not slow to take up the challenge. Sir John Pollock, looking back on those half-forgotten battles of forty years ago, finds it hard to understand why your twentieth-century Jesuit should be indignant at a criminal charge brought (and proved, Sir John would add) against a group of Jesuit conspirators whose crime was justly punished more than two hundred years ago. "It is still hard for me to comprehend," he writes in his Preface to this new edition, "why men to-day should feel outraged by an exposition of fact shewing that over two centuries ago certain members of the body to which they belong committed crimes . . . . . Yet because it is related that certain Jesuits in the seventeenth century took part in plotting and tried to carry out these plots, other Jesuits in the twentieth century appear to feel their honour aspersed." Students of Jesuit history will remember that the priest to whom St. Margaret Mary Alacoque confided her mission to preach devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and who has himself been recently raised to the honours of the altar as Blessed Claude de la Colombière, was resident in the Duke of York's palace at St. James' from 1676 to the night of his arrest (November 24, 1678). They will probably feel less confident that the Jesuits who surrounded Queen Catherine and the Duke of York were a set of desperate and unscrupulous intriguers.

Apart from the individual reputation of any particular member of their Order, Jesuits of the twentieth century have excellent reason for resenting an interpretation of history which exposes their Order to the charge of condoning and of actually plotting murder. Sir John Pollock

ay affect to find these scruples somewhat fanciful. But a recent revela-
on of Lord Acton's teaching on this very point, which we owe to one
his successors as Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge,
rows light on the implications of his conclusions and suggests that young
Ir. Pollock of 1903 was arguing in detail a solution which had been first
rought to his notice by Lord Acton himself. Writing in the *Catholic
listorical Review* for October, 1943, Dr. Friedrich Engel-Janosi publishes
series of valuable notes which he had made from the famous " bits of
aper in black boxes," now in the University Library at Cambridge,
hich contain so much of Acton's erudition and his comments on the
ublished work of his contemporaries. These notes have led Dr. Engel-
anosi to question the " rigid accuracy " which Acton himself affected,
nd which too many of his readers have taken for granted as guaranteed
y the great scholar's conscientious regard for truth. " One should not
onsider a fact as trustworthy simply because it is to be found in Lord
cton's papers " : such is his sorrowful conclusion. To illustrate his
oint he cites an anecdote which the present Master of Trinity College
nce told him at Cambridge :—

Professor G. M. Trevelyan, who had studied with Acton and who as Regius
rofessor at Cambridge holds the chair to which Acton had been appointed in 1895,
nce told the reviewer that Acton had said that it was the Jesuits who had murdered
ellegrino Rossi, the liberal minister of Pius IX. This statement was highly in-
resting to Professor Trevelyan, who is also famous as a Risorgimento historian, and
e made all possible inquiries into the matter without, however, finding the slightest
ustification for it. According to Professor Trevelyan, Acton believed much too easily
n the anecdote as an historical source, and for this reason he is not always to be relied
pon.

In the evidence concerning the murder of Sir Edmund Godfrey there
s no question of casual anecdote or gossip as the source of historical
nowledge. Sworn evidence there is, and plenty of it. The question
o be decided is simply : how far is this great mass of sworn evidence
o be discounted as gross perjury ? The prejudice which led Acton
stray in his imputation of a cold-blooded murder to Jesuits of his own
lay may obviously have been no less powerfully active in suggesting to
is mind that the Jesuits of 1678 were as ruthless and as dangerous as
he Jesuits of 1848. Sir John Pollock's book thus acquires a new interest
s a sample of the teaching and guidance which Acton gave his students
luring those last Cambridge years of his active life.

Every record of that short period proves that Acton's presence in
Trinity College was a powerful stimulus to the University's intellectual
ife. His own personal prestige, his undoubted learning, his great gifts
s a conversationalist, his wide experience of nineteenth-century politics,
is friendship with Gladstone, his social and international connections :
ll this gave power to his teaching and authority to his judgments. In
hose of his students who were capable of appreciating his thought (and

young John Pollock was of that number) his example inspired a zest for that search after truth in innumerable printed books and unpublished documents which Acton himself had learned from Ranke and Döllinger. The proper method of inspiring young students with an interest in the study of history is still so much the centre of academic discussion that I cannot resist the temptation of quoting from Sir John Pollock's account of what that new experience meant to him in those early years of work in the London Record Office :

> There was one advantage in being compelled to delve into the labyrinth of late seventeenth century handwriting instead of reaping in a field of clear print prepared by scholarly labour. My source was the very page across which was scrawled some fearful confession or greedy denunciation, the annotations of Henry Coventry or hurried notes by Sir Joseph Williamson made during the examination of a suspect at the Privy Council board. The anxious minds of Charles II's Secretaries of State infused an absorbing interest into their crabbed script, and seemed to make plot and counterplot live again.

If Lord Acton had done no more than to inspire in the best of his students this ardour for research after truth, no matter how tedious the labour, he would have proved himself a great teacher of historical method, a worthy successor to Ranke from whom he himself had learned so much. But Acton's conception of history as a search for truth was inseparably linked with his conviction that the historian's supreme function is to pass moral judgments in the name of historical truth. Some of the epigrams in which he has condensed his thought are famous. " There is a popular saying of Madame de Stael," he writes in his Inaugural Lecture, " that we forgive whatever we really understand. The paradox has been judiciously pruned by her descendant, the Duc de Broglie, in the words : ' Beware of too much explaining, lest we end by too much excusing.' " And he summarises his doctrine in a famous sentence : " The weight of opinion is against me when I exhort you never to debase the moral currency or to lower the standard of rectitude, but to try others by the final maxim that governs your own lives, and to suffer no man and no cause to escape the undying penalty which history has the power to inflict on wrong." It is the political philosophy of Edmund Burke applied to the study of the past no less than to the conduct of present affairs : " The principles of true politics are those of morality enlarged, and I neither now do, nor ever will admit of any other."

Such exhortation, delivered with all the fervour of passionate conviction and in language of unquestioned eloquence, could not but influence profoundly the young minds of students who flocked to Acton's lectures. The author of the book we are discussing has himself put on record (in 1904) the impression that Acton's lectures made on him during those short five years of professorial life :[1]

[1] Cited by the editors of Acton's *Lectures on Modern History*, p. xi.

> There was a magnetic quality in the tones of his voice, and a light in his eye, hat compelled obedience from the mind. Never before had a young man come to the presence of such intensity of conviction as was shown by every word Lord cton spoke. It took possession of the whole being, and seemed to enfold it in its wn burning flame. . . . . His feeling passed to the audience, which sat enthralled. t was in truth an emotional performance of the highest order ; a wonderful work f art, such as in all likelihood will never again be witnessed.

These quotations are necessary if we are to appreciate the full power f Acton's influence on younger minds. There is something so generous nd so inspiring in his appeal to man's moral sense of right and wrong hat it is not easy to withhold one's allegiance to doctrines which Acton ere propounds. Yet Catholic readers, who know something of Acton's stonishing intolerance in moral judgments, will hesitate and question he depth of sincerity that underlies these dramatic appeals. One of Cambridge's best modern historians has written what is perhaps the most cute analysis of this attractive programme of moral judgments on the ast :[1]

> It is an attractive exaltation of history, which gives it the power to bind and oosen, to be the arbiter of controversy, to reign and not to serve ; but one may elieve that it is a theory which makes too short a cut to the absolute. It is history ncroaching like the Hegelian state, till it becomes all-comprehensive, and stands s the finality in a moral world ; taking custody of that moral standard which " religion tself tends constantly to depress." It is history raised into something like the mind f God, making ultimate judgments upon the things which are happening in time. Here is the true Pope, that will not be *servus servorum Dei* ; here is the only absolutism hat the Whig is disposed to defend ; here is divine right and non-resistance, for (if a word can be allowed in malice) is not history on the side of the Whigs ?

Viewed in this light, one can understand how easily the historian's personal prejudices (for, do what he will, the historian is limited and human, sharing all too little in the Omniscience of God) may easily pervert what should be an impartial judgment on the conduct of dead men. " It is the office of historical science," Acton writes, " to maintain morality as the sole impartial criterion of men and things." But morality, for Lord Acton, and indeed Christianity as an influence on human life, was only too easily identified with that cause of political liberty which was the master passion of his life. " I am possessed by a Whig devil," he once wrote to Gladstone's daughter—one of his most intimate friends and correspondents. How deeply Whig traditions entered into his thought and emotional life may be learned from some quotations.[2]

Writing to Lady Blennerhassett, Lord Acton complains bitterly of the typical Ultramontane who is prepared to condone the acts of modern Popes. " He was worse than the accomplices of the Old Man of the Mountain, for they picked off individual victims. But the papacy con-

[1] H. Butterfield : *The Whig Interpretation of History* (G. Bell & Sons, 1931), p. 113.
[2] Mr. E. L. Woodward has printed some valuable comments on Acton's unpublished letters to Döllinger and others in *Politica*, IV (September 1939).

trived murder and massacre on the most cruel and inhuman scale. They were not only wholesale assassins, but they made the principle of assassination a law of the Christian Church and a condition of salvation." Newman had once been Acton's friend, and the two had collaborated in the early years of the *Rambler*. But the crisis of 1870—the true turning-point in Acton's spiritual life—had caused the two men to drift ever further apart. Here is his judgment on Newman, written in the last years of his life: " He defended the Syllabus, and the Syllabus justified all those atrocities. Pius the Fifth held that it was sound doctrine that any man may stab a heretic condemned by Rome, and that every man is a heretic who attacks the papal prerogatives. Borromeo wrote a letter for the purpose of causing a few Protestants to be murdered. Newman is an avowed admirer of Saint Pius and Saint Charles, and of the Pontiffs who canonised them. This, and the like of this, is the reason of my deep aversion for him." After these sweeping moral judgments it is something of an anti-climax to learn that Lord Acton maintained in private conversation that all Jesuits and Dominicans must be presumed to be living in a state of sin. As Professor Butterfield very truly observes, Acton's principle of absolute moral judgments had brought him to the unconscious acceptance of a more treacherous thesis : " Better be unjust to dead men than give currency to loose ideas on questions of morals." One Who alone has the right to pass absolute moral judgment has given very different teaching : " Judge not, and you shall not be judged."

Whig devils have this in common with other devils that their favourite sin is pride ; and Lord Acton's pride is sometimes intolerable. Professor Henry Jackson, who knew Acton well in his last Cambridge years as his colleague in Trinity College, tells the following characteristic anecdote :[1] " He had a wealth of righteous indignation which upon occasion blazed fiercely out. ' Are you aware,' he once asked, ' that Borromeo was a party to a scheme of assassinations ? ' ' But,' said some one, ' must we not make allowance for the morality of the time ? ' ' I make *no* allowance for that sort of thing,' was the emphatic answer ; and the contrast with the measured and sedate tones of Acton's ordinary utterance made the explosion all the more impressive."

Yet the uneasy admirer of Acton's theory may well feel that the unnamed interlocutor was here nearer to the truth than the indignant historian of morals. The position of a heretic in Borromeo's day was different to the position of a heretic to-day. He was held to be an enemy of society. Does your twentieth-century Whig feel high moral scruples when some desperate left-wing revolutionary throws his bomb or shoots his machine-gun : always assuming that the victim is not an Englishman ?[2] Th

[1] Cited by Herbert Paul in his Introductory Memoir to *The Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone* (Geo. Allen, 1904), p. lxxi.

[2] Sir George Trevelyan, writing of the Carbonari before 1848, has some typical Whig comments in his *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic* (London, 1907), p. 60.

men of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who played with the doctrine of tyrannicide or who held that heretics were social outlaws, lived in a world that had none of the accepted securities of Victorian England. Before we allow ourselves to blaze forth in an outburst of moral righteousness, it is well to consider the situation in which they found themselves. And that surely is the primary duty of all historians.

There are indeed the elements of a Greek tragedy in Lord Acton's career, for the man's character was plainly noble and he had suffered much. The Hybris which urged him to utter moral judgments of so formidable a character was followed by its appropriate Nemesis. He was too conscientious a scholar to shirk the labour involved in gathering and comparing the evidence by which his absolute moral judgments were one day to be justified in his great but unwritten *History of Human Liberty*. He was still reading specialised monographs on modern history at the rate of one German octavo a day when God's hand struck him down with paralysis early in 1901. Lord Acton's physical powers failed him at last whilst he was still engaged on the futile task of acquiring knowledge that might justify his judgments, even as God's judgments are justified in His All-comprehending Justice and Mercy. He left to posterity no more enduring testimony than a huge library of historical works, most of which are now long since out of date, and an accumulation of " bits of paper in black boxes " from which a few diligent students are to-day seeking to reconstruct the doctrine and estimate the character of one who, next to Gladstone, was the most ardent and most influential Whig of Victorian England.

Let us now turn from the master to the pupil. In Acton's view 1688 was one of the great dates of human history, and every incident in the years immediately preceding that Great Deliverance was worthy of the deepest study. Here, if anywhere, were to be found the origins of that Whig party to which he had given so much of his enthusiasm and active life. A pupil who could throw light on the dark shadows of the Popish Plot was a pupil after his own heart.

Mr. Pollock's eager hunt for evidence has already been described; the principles which guided his search can be deduced from what we know of the master's moral judgments. The conclusion to which he came is in no way surprising. If the Popes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had " made the principle of assassination a law of the Christian Church and a condition of salvation," there could be little doubt *a priori* as to the identity of the unknown murderers of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey. Nobody could dispute the fact that there were Jesuits in London at the time. All that Mr. Pollock felt it necessary to prove was: (1) that Godfrey had made himself inconvenient to the Jesuits; and (2) that the story told by the two main witnesses whose testimony prevailed in 1679 was not too palpably false or absurd to be dismissed as no more than gross perjury.

As to the first point, Mr. Pollock made one interesting discovery in the *Memoirs* of Sir John Reresby. Six years after the execution of the five Jesuits, James II admitted to this faithful Royalist that the Jesuits had held a provincial congregation in the Palace of St. James', under the protection of the Duke of York himself, in 1678. This fact had escaped the notice of previous inquirers, though Reresby's *Memoirs* had been printed in 1875. If somebody (there is no need to be sure of this somebody's identity) had revealed this strictly guarded secret to Godfrey and if Godfrey had let it be known that it was his duty to denounce this treasonable fact immediately, then it is obvious—so Mr. Pollock argues in his book—that the Jesuits had most urgent reasons for ridding themselves of so troublesome a magistrate. If this hypothesis is not accepted (and all proof is lacking), then it is less easy to see why Godfrey should have been murdered by the Jesuits. For Godfrey was known to be friendly to the Catholics in the city. He had the reputation of a fearless magistrate, a great lover of justice. Apart from Mr. Pollock's ingenious theory, there is no evidence at all that he was hostile or in any way dangerous to the long-suffering Papists.

As to the second point, Mr. Pollock was no less ingenious. The two principal witnesses, subordinate to the chief informer Oates, were William Bedloe and Miles Prance. Their evidence was, by common consent, open to the gravest suspicion. We are told on page 127 of this book that " Bedloe's evidence shewed striking points of difference from that of Prance, who preceded him, even after he had toned it into better accord." On page 128 that " the suspicion is difficult to stifle that Prance had some knowledge of the evidence which the maid would give, and altered his own in order not to contradict it." On page 132 that the " two chief witnesses were guilty of wilful perjury," and that " Bedloe contradicted himself beyond belief." On page 133 that " they both accused innocent men, told elaborate falsehoods, and contradicted one another." Sir John Pollock is the son of a famous English lawyer, but he would hardly need his father to tell him that a modern judge would simply charge a jury to pay no heed whatever to evidence of that kind. Unfortunately Sir John Pollock has the advantage of knowing that no cross-examination of his witnesses is possible within the two covers of his book (either in its first or its second edition), and he has chosen to deal with this evidence in his own way.

Miles Prance was a Catholic silversmith, who was arrested some weeks after Godfrey's murder and sought to save his own life by swearing away the lives of others. He never gave evidence directly against the Jesuits and is known to have been their friend before his trial. Sir John assumes that he was a Jesuit agent, takes such portions of his suspect evidence as he finds convenient and uses it (with certain minor adaptations of Bedloe's admittedly perjured evidence) to support his thesis of a Jesuit murder

This is indeed a curious method of sifting evidence, and its results are so startling that one is apt to forget that Sir John has never been able to do more than hazard a guess that Prance was acting throughout as a Jesuit agent. Granted for the moment that this may be true (and it is a bold assumption), we find that the story which Sir John Pollock would have us believe is in itself so improbable that it could only be accepted on the strength of irrefutable evidence from eye-witnesses. Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey was last seen on Saturday, October 12, when he left his house in Hartshorn Lane for an unknown destination. According to Sir John the Jesuits had sent him a letter to entice him to the Queen's palace at Somerset House, knowing that he was about to denounce their intrigues and, in particular, the supremely dangerous fact that they had held a congregation in St. James' Palace six months earlier. Once their victim entered the palace, the Jesuits (with or without the help of a few more expert murderers) seized him, did him to death with such violence that his head and body were covered with bruises, and then were able to hide his body for the next four days. All this took place, it must be remembered, in broad daylight and within the precincts of the Queen's palace where inconvenient eye-witnesses could appear at any moment. In the night of October 16-17 the Jesuits found an opportunity of getting rid of Godfrey's embarrassing corpse. They had decided to fake a suicide, and thrust a sword through the body at such an angle as to suggest this cause of death. They then conveyed the body, in a cart or coach, through the city of London, which was already seething with excitement at the news of Godfrey's disappearance, to Primrose Hill. There the body was found next morning by a butcher and his two companions who were on their way to buy some cattle in a neighbouring farmhouse. The alarm was given ; the corpse was examined ; and, though the *prima facie* suggestion of suicide was at once obvious, the doctors who examined the corpse were not slow to point out two significant facts. The absence of blood from the sword-wound, and the absence of any trace of blood in the ditch where the corpse was found, was to them proof sufficient that here was no case of suicide, but a foul murder.

Sir John Pollock's thesis has not lacked vigorous critics during the past forty years. In 1905 Mr. Alfred Marks (who was not himself a Catholic) published a book entitled *Who killed Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey?* to which Father J. H. Pollen contributed a short preface. Mr. Marks sought to argue once more the case for suicide, and claimed the support of an eminent pathologist to whom he submitted a statement of the evidence. But much of the evidence on which he relies is not contemporary evidence at all. It was taken from later statements put out four or five years after the event in the interests of the Court. Sir John Pollock is, I believe, right in maintaining that the theory of suicide simply does not fit the facts. It is murder, brutal murder : that and nothing else. Andrew Lang, for whom

these unsolved mysteries had an irresistible fascination, attempted a solution and admitted that he had failed. Sir Richard Lodge, a recognised specialist in the history of this period, summed up his view in the statement that " in spite of the ingenuity displayed, the death of Godfrey still remains an unsolved, and probably an insoluble, mystery." In 1913 Mr. Blackburne Daniell, editing the *Calendar of State Papers* for 1678, rejected the theory of suicide as definitely disproved, but was unwilling to accept Sir John Pollock's view. In Cambridge they were less cautious. In 1906 Sir Adolphus Ward and Sir Stanley Leathes, who took over the work of editing the volumes of the *Cambridge Modern History* after Acton's death, invited Mr. Pollock to contribute the chapter on " The Policy of Charles II and James II " which Lord Acton had originally reserved for himself. It was a great honour, and Mr. Pollock—who was aware that his thesis had not been universally accepted—tells us in his recent Preface that he " wrote a guarded passage " on this episode and " delivered an open verdict on Godfrey's death." " To my delight," so his story continues, " I received back the page of my MS. from Sir Adolphus Ward, the Master of Peterhouse, with this passage deleted, and in its place, written in the Master of Peterhouse's neat hand, the lines that were subsequently printed in the *History*." They read as follows : " Whatever may be the true explanation of the mystery of his (Godfrey's) death—and the only one that seems alike reasonable and supported by circumstantial evidence makes Jesuit agents guilty of his murder—to the citizens of London and Englishmen generally Godfrey's murder seemed, etc. . . ." And so one more Protestant myth was incorporated in the impartial and international *Modern History* which Lord Acton had planned.

A Jesuit may be pardoned for his reluctance to accept a theory supported by such flimsy and admittedly suspect evidence. But many waters have flowed beneath London Bridge and past the banks of the Cam since 1906. Quite recently an Oxford historian, Professor G. N. Clark, has been appointed successor to Sir George Trevelyan in Acton's chair at Cambridge. His judgment on Sir John Pollock's book was published in the *Oxford History of England* : " a polemical work, and does not prove its main contentions."[1]

The chief danger in Lord Acton's doctrine that historians should pass absolute moral judgments is, as we have seen, that wholly conclusive evidence is seldom to be attained. The least we may expect is that historians of this school should take the trouble to look where information is likely to be found. In 1924 Mr. J. G. Muddiman, who is himself a descendant of a namesake who played a minor part in the drama of Restoration politics and who is known as an exceedingly competent and conscientious worker in this field, published a short article of eight pages

[1] G. N. Clark : *The Later Stuarts*, 1660-1714 (Oxford, 1934), p. 412. Professor Clark has an ingenious theory of accidental killing.

which contains ammunition enough to blow Sir John Pollock's elaborate theories sky-high.[1] No mention is made of this article in Sir John Pollock's preface to the re-issue of this book, and we are left in doubt as to whether this omission is due to simple ignorance or to some other and less creditable cause. Mr. Muddiman did in 1924 what Sir John Pollock might fairly have been expected to do in 1903. He examined the record of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey's activity as a justice of the peace, suspecting with much reason that evidence might be lurking here which (as all readers of detective stories know) can provide an unexpected solution after months of unprofitable inquiry. There was no need for him to go to unprinted sources in the Record Office. Godfrey's activity as magistrate is attested by numerous documents in the published *Journals of the House of Lords*, and Mr. Muddiman is entitled to remark that "it is surely astonishing that Godfrey's share in all this . . . . should never have been noticed before."

The new suspect whom he has unearthed is Philip, seventh Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, who succeeded to his half-brother's earldom in 1674; fought a duel in which he was severely wounded that same year; married the sister of the king's mistress, Henriette de Kéroualle, in 1675; tried to kill Sir Francis Vincent in a drunken quarrel in 1676; was sent to the Tower "for blasphemy, abuse of the celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper and other misdemeanours altogether unfit to be named" in January 1678; was released on petition of the Lords, but was reported again in February of the same year for assault and attempted murder; and was soon afterwards put on trial for his life on the charge of having brutally murdered Nathaniel Cony when drinking in a tavern. The antiquary Dugdale, who knew Pembroke well, writes of him: "He is so full of mischief when he gets wine into his blood that there will be no way to prevent him from murders but by keeping him up, some way or other." The Earl was put on trial for his life on April 4, 1678; and Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey was foreman of the Grand Jury which returned a verdict of "Wilful murder". The cause was then removed to the House of Lords, where a majority of Pembroke's peers found him guilty of manslaughter only, though eighteen were in favour of the verdict "Murder". A statute of Edward the Sixth, under whose reign the great Whig families of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries first established their privileged position in the state, granted the peers "benefit of clergy" for the charge of manslaughter, for a first offence only. Pembroke was thus able to plead benefit of clergy in 1678; but was unable to do so a second time when he had to fly the country on the charge of having murdered Mr. Smeeth of Turnham Green in 1680. He was granted a pardon for this last crime in 1681, on the petition of Shaftesbury, Monmouth and twenty-two other Whig peers.

Here is a murderer who had excellent reasons for hating Sir Edmund

[1] "The Mystery of Sir E. B. Godfrey," in *The National Review* (September 1924).

Godfrey in the summer and autumn of 1678. Godfrey's body bore traces of brutal murder when it was found on Primrose Hill, " having some bruises on the breast and head, the blood all settled on his face . . . the impression of the cord about his neck was also very evident." The murder of Cony a few months earlier had been even more brutal; and there is record of another assault in November of that year, when Pembroke was accused of bodily injury to Lord Dorset, with whom he had a law-suit. Godfrey left his house on the fatal Saturday morning, having received a note from some unknown person. Dorset had been summoned to the house where Pembroke assaulted him by a similar ruse. Finally, the butcher who discovered Godfrey's body so conveniently on Primrose Hill four days after the murder lived in St. Giles', close to Pembroke's residence in Leicester Fields. Was he, Mr. Muddiman asks, the neighbour whose cart was borrowed on the night of October 16-17, to convey the corpse from Leicester Fields to the ditch in which this butcher, with two friends as witnesses, found it according to a preconcerted plan on the morning of October 17?

For Mr. Muddiman does not end his inquiry with the enumeration of these suspicious details. He has examined unpublished letter-books at Lambeth Palace and some unpublished papers among the Shaftesbury Papers now in the Record Office. Mr. Pollock, hot on the scent of the Jesuits in 1902, failed to notice these documents; among them a letter, preserved among Shaftesbury's own papers, in which an eye-witness states that he followed Godfrey on that Saturday morning as he left his own house, and saw that the magistrate " housed him in St. Giles'." He quotes also from a most valuable news-letter of Roger North, who was brother to Lord Chief Justice North. North gives a very detailed description of the body as it was found on Primrose Hill, dismisses the theory of suicide as an obvious false clue, and adds some comments of his own: " That murder was no other than a stratagem of those execrable villains who were the authors of the diabolical engine called the Plot, and brought forward to relieve a declining game. And this murder being done by themselves they could close it up as they pleased and the purpose for which it was designed. In short, the two common words ' Cui bono " interpreted the great mystery of Godfrey's murder."

The case, as argued by Mr. Muddiman from his unpublished contemporary documents, forms so strong a *prima facie* case against the Earl of Pembroke (whom he justly describes as " nothing better than a madman when he was sober, and a homicidal lunatic when he was not ") that one is tempted to ask: why were none of these facts brought to the notice of the Grand Jury which investigated Godfrey's murder in 1679? Mr. Muddiman has an answer which covers this aspect of the problem as completely as the rest. Pembroke was the husband of the sister of the Duchess of Portsmouth, the King's mistress and a prominent though sinister

figure in the Whig cabal. Shaftesbury and Monmouth and the rest of the cabal were strong enough to obtain a pardon for brutal murder in 1681. Godfrey's murder was a more serious affair, and it was from the first the plain purpose of Shaftesbury to exploit this murder for all it was worth in the turbulent politics of the day. Should any too officious busybody trouble Pembroke with an accusation that might divert Shaftesbury from his game, there was a convenient action of *Scandalum Magnatum* that might prove the undoing of such inconvenient meddlers.

Roger North, as Mr. Muddiman has been able to prove, suspected the truth from the first. Shaftesbury may or may not have been a party to the plot which ended in Godfrey's death; but he was quick to see the advantage he could draw from it for his own intrigues. Godfrey's body bore traces of brutal murder, and there was no concealing the fact. The wounds that were added after death—the sword-thrust and another "cross broad wound in the breast"—were bloodless and deceived no one at the time. But they served their purpose, for they put the Catholics on a false track—inducing them, from that day to this, to concentrate on a theory of suicide which could never be sustained. Meanwhile the Green Ribbon Club and the Whigs had their chance. London was filled with rumours that the popular magistrate had been murdered by the Papists and the Jesuits, that the kingdom was in danger, that the Protestant Succession was imperilled by a Popish Plot. Mr. Muddiman's solution may or may not be correct. But it is very much more probable than Sir John Pollock's elaborate theory.

It is perhaps not fair to expect an author who has long since abandoned all serious historical study to be familiar with both sides of his own chosen story. But Sir John's preface makes it plain that he has read Major Hay's more recent volume on the Popish Plot.[1] This book was published in 1934, and throws a flood of light on the obscure intrigues among the anti-Jesuit Catholic party in England who, by fair means and foul, sought to make their Jesuit fellow-countrymen responsible for the misfortunes that fell to the lot of all Papists in the reign of Charles II. Those who have read Major Hay's book will not easily forget his portrait of Dr. John Sergeant, who took money from the Government as one of their most useful agents and who lost no opportunity of bringing Jesuit priests into discredit, and even into danger of life. Major Hay caught Sir John Pollock badly out on one minor point of detail, which is duly corrected in this re-issue. Young Mr. Pollock of 1903 was so eager to find Jesuits guilty of every crime that he misread in his haste a document in which a French spy describes the personal appearance of Father John Gavan, S.J., whom he had betrayed to Mr. Secretary Williamson. There was danger of confusion at the moment of arrest, for Father Gavan was living in a stable disguised as a groom. A coachman was living in the same stables, with his wife and

[1] M. V. Hay: *The Jesuits and the Popish Plot.* (Kegan Paul, 1934).

small boy. Mr. Pollock let his eye wander as he copied this text, and his account of it in the first edition is as follows: "Yet more unfortunate, since it brought laughter with it, was the case of Father John Gavan, the famous martyr and Jesuit, who was likened to 'an angel of God', and his voice in preaching to 'a silver trumpet'; for, having done battle in youth with the lust of the flesh, he was seized at the height of his reputation in the stables of the Imperial ambassador, where he was hiding with a woman who passed for his wife and their son."

Major Hay's comments on this passage have caused Sir John Pollock to put the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press to the expense of re-setting the type of this one page; but Sir John has not condescended to name the book or the author to whom he owes this correction. Since Major Hay discusses, though briefly, the murder of Godfrey and refers his readers to Mr. Muddiman's more detailed statement of the evidence, we may fairly assume that Sir John had learned of Mr. Muddiman's new facts. But Sir John's preface, to which he has given the very candid sub-title *Pro Domo Sua*, makes no mention either of Major Hay or Mr. Muddiman. The author of *The Popish Plot* is the son of a very famous English lawyer and was once the pupil of a very famous English historian. Lawyer and historian have this in common, that they both have as the main purpose of their inquiries "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth". Forty years of successful activity as journalist and playwright seem to have dimmed Sir John Pollock's loyalty to an ancient cause.

My quarrel is rather with the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press. Why should a book of this kind be re-issued in the sixth year of war when paper is scarce and the love of truth for its own sake even more scarce? This book was not first published from the Cambridge Press. It has now been taken over from a London publisher and sent out to the world with the stamp of University approval. Was any care taken to ensure that its conclusions should be revised in the light of more recent publications? Or are we to assume that the Syndics of the Press have entered into a conspiracy with the author to discredit the Jesuits of the twentieth century in a Big Whig Plot *à la Lord Acton*?

This essay may best be ended by the noble words with which Lord Acton, who could express an ideal standard better than he could observe it in practice, concludes his famous Inaugural Lecture *On the Study of History*: "The historians of former ages, unapproachable for us in knowledge and talent, cannot be our limit. We have the power to be more rigidly impersonal, disinterested and just than they; and to learn from undisguised records to look with remorse upon the past, and to the future with assured hope of better things; bearing this in mind, that if we lower our standard in History, we cannot uphold it in Church or State."

AUBREY GWYNN.

CENTENARY OF FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE

BY FREDERICK C. COPLESTON, S.J.

ONE hundred years have now elapsed since Friedrich Nietzsche was born at the parsonage of the little Saxon village of Röcken, on October 15, 1844; but the period of what one might call his literary influence has been very considerably less, since it was only towards the close of his sane life (1889) that his writings began to attract the attention of men like George Brandes the Danish critic, Hippolyte Taine the Frenchman, and August Strindberg the celebrated Swedish dramatist, while it was only when he was living in retirement at Weimar, in a mental twilight, that he became a famous man—the rather pathetic show-piece stage-managed by his proud, if not altogether discerning and scrupulous sister, Elizabeth Förster-Nietzsche. The philosopher of Superman had not, therefore, that consolation which was granted to Arthur Schopenhauer, the consolation of enjoying fame and discipleship before his death after a life of neglect; for, when fame at length came, Nietzsche could no longer appreciate it: his sister appreciated it instead and was thus enabled, through the circumstances of Nietzsche's long illness, to continue her reign over the Nietzsche-Archiv after her brother's death in 1900.

Since Nietzsche's death his life and thought have formed the subject, under one aspect or another, of an enormous number of books, articles, lectures and disputes, from the somewhat undignified bickering between Bernoulli and Elizabeth down to the contemporary dispute concerning Nietzsche's relations to Nazism. At one end of the scale there has been a considerable output of really scholarly work, such as the *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe* (1933–) of Nietzsche's works (so far only the youthful works have been published in this edition), and the corresponding edition of his letters (1938–), which, it is hoped, will be carried to completion after the war. (One may mention the English translation of Nietzsche's works, in eighteen volumes, edited by Dr. Oscar Levy, who has also edited *Selected Letters of Friedrich Nietzsche*). To scholarly and thoughtful works on Nietzsche belong such books as Charles Andler's six-volume *Nietzsche, sa vie et sa pensée*, H. Vaihinger's *Nietzsche als Philosoph*, Georg Simmel's *Schopenhauer und Nietzsche*, Karl Jasper's *Nietzsche*, Professor Morgan's *What Nietzsche means* (1943), and many other books on particular aspects of Nietzsche's thought and his relationship to other thinkers and literary figures. At the other end of the scale are the thoroughly uncritical and tendentious works, the authors of which indulge either in a naïve adulation and hero-worship or in equally one-sided vituperation, so that Nietzsche appears either as more saintly than the Saints or as a cannibalistic wild man of the woods. There are also,

higher in the scale, writers who have a good deal of quiet fun at Nietzsche's expense; and indeed it must be confessed that there is a comparatively narrow margin between representing the philosopher's life, character and activities in a tragic or heroic light and representing them in a mildly comic light, though in view of the serious use which has been made of his writings in various quarters the comical representation of Nietzsche must be qualified as banal and superficial.

That different attitudes should have been adopted towards Nietzsche and his books is in no way surprising or unusual. Spinoza has been reviled as an atheist and lauded as a great religious thinker; Kant has been represented as the master of those who know, as a cloudy, confused and illogical thinker, and as the diabolic enemy of true wisdom and religion. Small wonder, then, that different reactions should be called forth by such a provocative writer as Nietzsche. But while in regard to Kant, for example, there is a measure of general agreement on the meaning of what he wrote (whether one agrees with what he wrote or not), so that differences of interpretation are more or less of a detailed and academic nature, in the case of Nietzsche there have been and are radical differences in interpretation. To some he has appeared as first and foremost a poet and a German stylist, the part he played in developing the potentialities of the German language constituting his chief claim to fame, while the ideological content of his writing is a matter of small importance; by others he has been exalted as the philosopher *par excellence*, though they have very varied ideas as to what his philosophy actually was. Some have seen in Nietzsche the embodiment of all those spiritual tendencies which have contributed to the disintegration of European culture, while others have preferred to regard him under the aspect of creator, trans-valuator of values, herald of the future; to some he was a pioneer in the naturalistic criticism of morality and history of ethics, while to others again he is a modern Dionysus liberating men from the tyranny of *Geist*, of reason. Some critics have accepted his own characterization of himself as Antichrist, while others have made him out to be more Christian than the Christians; to one he is the philosopher of a purely humanistic culture, to another a religious *Grübler*, to one the prophet of a new aristocracy, to another (*mirabile dictu!*) a Socialist. In the eyes of men like Professor Alfred Baeumler Nietzsche was at heart a good Nazi; in the eyes of H. Lefevre he was no Nazi or Pacifist but a Marxian Socialist; while to others he was neither Fascist nor Socialist but a thorough-going Individualist.

Nietzsche's method of writing is largely responsible for this diversity of interpretation. Apart from the *Birth of Tragedy*, *Thoughts out of Season* and one or two other writings, his books consist, to a greater or less degree, of aphorisms: we know that some of his work was the result of thoughts which came to him on his solitary walks and which he jotted down and

strung together to form a book. But such a method of composition, especially in the case of so sensitive and impressionable a man as Nietzsche, hardly conduces to consistency—verbal consistency at least. For instance, if the thought of the tameness of bourgeois life occurred to him on the one hand and the thought of the heroism and self-sacrifice occasioned in war on the other hand, the result would be an aphoristic hymn in praise of war ; whereas, if the thought of the waste of the most promising elements of the nation which occurs in war was uppermost in Nietzsche's mind, the result would be an aphoristic condemnation of war as foolish and suicidal to victors and vanquished alike. One critic will then fix on the first type of aphorism and declare that Nietzsche was a lover of war (either approving or disapproving of that supposed love as the case may be) ; another critic will fix on the anti-war utterances and declare that they represent the real mind of the author ; while yet a third critic will attempt to combine both sets of aphorism in a synthesis, pointing out that Nietzsche's attitude in regard to war is dependent on the particular aspect of war which he happens to be considering at the moment and that the verbal incompatibility of the two sets of utterance need not be taken to indicate a real ideological contradiction. Again, when Nietzsche happens to be concentrating on his nominalistic view of humanity and on his disgust with the conventional herd-man, he denounces the notion of an absolute moral code and summons the free spirits " beyond good and evil " ; while, if he happens to be considering the slavery of passion and base lusts and the unaesthetic character of the bestial man, he preaches self-discipline and self-mastery. The first type of utterance will appeal to the young, for obvious reasons of the pragmatic order, and they will neglect the other set of statements, while critics who are reluctant to admit that Nietzsche was an apostle of " immorality " in the ordinary sense lay emphasis on the texts which insist on self-discipline, freedom and integration of character, pointing out that " beyond good and evil " is not, or was not meant by Nietzsche to be, the same as " beneath good ". Others again will maintain that Nietzsche had a quite different conception of morality to the traditional one and that it is a mistake to interpret his teaching in the categories of the traditional morality.

The whole situation is complicated, not only by the obscurity of a book like *Zarathustra* (which was composed in double-quick time after a period of mental fermentation), but also by the likelihood that Nietzsche deliberately indulged in overstatement in order to draw attention to the point at issue, in order to compel thought ; or he may have written at times in a purposely ambiguous manner, hoping that his true disciples would discern the real direction of his thought. In addition, we must not forget the fact that Nietzsche not only felt himself to be spiritually out of tune with his age, with the ethos of the Second Reich and, in general, with the ideals of " Victorian " bourgeois and democratic society, but

was also increasingly conscious of his impotence to make an impression on that society, a consciousness which forced him into ever louder denunciation, ever more exaggerated statement. It is as though a man, addressing a crowd of deaf people, abandoned the normal tones in which he had begun to speak, and went on first to raise his voice and then to shout as loud as he could, hoping by stentorian tones and violent language to make some impression on his inattentive audience.

Moreover, as though the situation were not already complicated enough, there is also the purely personal element to be considered. Nietzsche had depression, pessimism, ill-health, even a tendency to Nihilistic despair to contend with in his own soul, and he made or tried to make his ideology and his preaching, his assertion of optimism, something of a remedy, a self-imposed remedy, a useful means for the recovery and stabilising of physical and mental health. This fits in with his theory of " myth," of the biological utility of error (in the sense of a belief which is unprovable, but which at the same time furthers ascending and developing life) : as he believed that the myth of Superman could be of value to the higher type of man in general, so he considered that his own philosophy was a spiritual remedy, a salutary tonic, in his own case in particular. From this point of view there is something to be said for the theory of " masks," that Nietzsche put on a series of ideological masks which do not, taken literally and by themselves, give us the inmost direction of his thought. Thus it has been maintained that the Dionysus-Apollo antithesis, for example, was a mere mask, that we have to seek below the surface of the words and actual written opinions of Nietzsche in order to find the inner meaning of his life. I shall return to this subject in a moment, but I should like to observe now that one might maintain, with some plausibility at least, that what Nietzsche has to say on masks is itself no more than a mask, an attempt to preserve a certain lightness of touch, a seeming *insouciance,* which is belied by the seriousness and earnestness of his whole life and character.

According to Nietzsche, truth is that kind of error without which a certain species cannot exist : in other words, he maintains the biological utility of fiction. Now what he says of the species he would apply also in the case of the individual. It is customary to distinguish three main periods or phases in Nietzsche's development : (1) the period in which he was under the influence of Schopenhauer and Wagner ; (2) the period in which he presented himself as the scientific observer, the freethinker and rationalist ; and (3) the period of *Zarathustra* and the *Will to Power.* Now Nietzsche himself, looking back on his early devotion to Richard Wagner and the thought of Arthur Schopenhauer, recognised that this early period was but a means whereby he was gradually enabled to find and express himself, while in a letter written at the end of 1888 (to Hans von Buelow) he declared himself ready to admit that his attitude of " free

spirit" was an "eccentric pose," a "resolve" imposed on his genuine inclinations, though at the same time he insisted that it was only by means of this second nature that he was able to become possessed of his first nature—*i.e.*, that it was necessary for him to make the attempt at being the free, rationalistic, critical observer, in order that by means of this phase he might attain to further development, like a snake sloughing its old skin. In a sense, then, his first and second periods were "masks" adopted for the sake of mental health and development; but it does not follow that they were masks in the sense of deliberately and consciously intended deceptions, for it is really only in retrospect that Nietzsche recognises them as masks, as poses necessary in his development, as unconsciously self-administered tonics. It is not as though Nietzsche had one day said: "I shall now set out to pose as a positivistic and scientific critic, an observer and looker-on"; rather did he seriously attempt for a time to play such a part, until, having advanced beyond that stage and looking back on it, he recognised it as a provision of nature to secure his health for the time being and to enable his true inclinations to develop themselves unseen.

That Nietzsche used phrases and expressed opinions which he did not mean to be taken seriously in the literal sense is quite true (the famous injunction to take a whip to women is one of these), but it would be a mistake if we were to suppose that his various phases and interests were deliberate poses, mere masks assumed in order to hide, for some reason or another, an esoteric philosophy which was already present to his mind: they were rather the stages through which and under which the real thought of Nietzsche matured and developed—or, better still perhaps, they were the self-presentations of Nietzsche, not only to the world but also to himself, in an unconscious attempt to mask the inner, unresolved conflict in his soul. The question arises, therefore, whether the third main phase of Nietzsche was not also a mask in this sense—an attempt, unconscious for the most part, to cover over and hide from the view of the sufferer himself the conflict within his soul, the inner tension and struggle. May it not be that this increasing inner tension is reflected in the increasingly extravagant language of the published writings, so that there is a parallel crescendo? If this were true, then it would be wrong to contrast the first and second phases of Nietzsche's thought with the third phase in such a way that the former are made to stand in relation to the latter as mask to unveiled countenance: the *whole* published thought of Nietzsche would be an attempt, on the conscious level, to resolve the only half-recognised, half-acknowledged inner conflict. In fact, inasmuch as the inner conflict became more and more acute, the conscious thought would become more and more of a mask and the earlier phase of Nietzsche's thought, with its calmer and saner atmosphere, would bear a closer relationship to his natural self. But in order that this question may be answered,

it is necessary to determine, first, if there was an inner conflict in Nietzsche's soul and, if so, what it was, and, secondly, what was Nietzsche's main conscious interest and what relation the developing pursuit of that interest bore to the inner conflict.

On the surface it may appear that Nietzsche's chief difficulty was to find a satisfactory relation to his fellows. This is obvious enough in the case of his friendships with other men, more particularly in regard to Richard Wagner. That Nietzsche formed a close friendship with the great musician, that this friendship was broken off, and that Nietzsche subsequently used his pen in a violent attack on the art of Wagner is common knowledge; but it is not always recognised so clearly that, in writing against Wagner, Nietzsche also did violence to himself. *Ecce Homo* makes it quite clear that the halcyon days of their friendship, the days spent at Wagner's villa on the lake of Lucerne, were imprinted deep in Nietzsche's heart to the very end, and he admits openly the torture inflicted on his sensitive nature by writing against Wagner at all. Not long before the composition of *The Case of Wagner* Nietzsche wrote to Peter Gast: "I loved Wagner, I love him still," and, in the period of his break-down, when shown portraits of his former friend, then sometime dead, he would remark in tears: "I loved him." Nietzsche had a great longing for intimate friendship, understanding and affection; but at the same time he demanded that his friends should devote themselves to him in a manner for which they were scarcely prepared. He accused Wagner (doubtless correctly) of having attempted to use him as a subordinate instrument in the propagation of the Bayreuth idea, but on his side too there was an egoism which made real friendship very difficult: he needed friendship and love, and he felt the need deeply, but he was temperamentally unfitted for a union such as he desired.

Moreover, if Nietzsche failed to find the friend for whom he longed, he failed also to find and hold the love of a truly understanding woman. It is true that it is difficult to imagine Nietzsche a married man; but he made several abortive attempts to find a wife, of which attempts the tragic-comic story of his relationship with Lou Salomé is the best known. These attempts may not have been made very efficiently, but the fact that they were made and the manner in which they were made and failed show clearly Nietzsche's experienced need for love and his inability to fulfil that need; and the resulting void and loneliness cannot but have had a serious effect on his psychological life. His isolation may have had a beneficial effect on his "mission," but it certainly did not have a beneficial effect on his mental and physical health.

Now, some writers have represented the conflict between Nietzsche's desire for human love and his inability to find what he sought (which was a conflict between two aspects of his nature) as the determining factor in his life and fate. While some of these writers have contented themselves

with the general idea that Nietzsche had a strong desire for a normal sexual life and that his failure to realise such a life contributed (*i.e.*, together with other physiological and psychological factors) to the final disaster, others have attached particular importance to his supposed love for Cosima Wagner. There is certainly a good deal to be said for the notion that he loved Cosima Wagner, for the letter he sent her after he had gone mad ran : " Ariadne, I love thee—Dionysus," a letter which naturally suggests that Nietzsche looked upon Cosima as an Ariadne who had been held in captivity by Richard Wagner. Moreover, Nietzsche told the physician in the asylum at Jena that his " wife," Cosima Wagner, had brought him there. It has been argued, then, and with some degree of plausibility, that Nietzsche's love for Cosima was plainly manifested at the time of his breakdown, though formerly he had concealed it—perhaps never really admitting it even to himself.

It can hardly be denied, therefore, that there was an emotional conflict in Nietzsche's soul, both in respect of his friendship with other men and in respect of his desire for the fulfilment of his emotional needs in married love ; but to regard this conflict, however real, as the all-important conflict in Nietzsche's soul is altogether too superficial. One of the most revealing remarks that Nietzsche ever made was the famous remark to his sister : " A *profound* man needs friends, unless he has a God. And I have neither God nor friends." The superficial man or woman may, to all appearance, succeed in getting along without God ; but Nietzsche was emphatically not a superficial man, nor was he indifferent to the existence and nature of God : on the contrary, the religious theme became more and more prominent in his writing as time went on, and the intensification of his attack on Christ went hand in hand with increasing isolation and mental disturbance. At the end he set himself in direct contradiction to Christ—for all the world as if Christ were, even in Nietzsche's eyes, a real Person ; and it is notorious that after his breakdown he tended to identify himself with the Crucified. It would appear that Nietzsche was in a very real sense a wrestler with God, that the really important conflict in his soul was between the inmost call of his being to Ultimate Being, to the abyss of God, and his obstinate refusal to surrender to that call. If his violent attack on Wagner covered a deep-seated and never eradicated love, far more did his violent attack on God, on Christ, cover a hidden longing and a resolutely concealed attraction. I should certainly not subscribe to any assertion that his final breakdown is to be attributed exclusively to this tension, to this unresolved conflict (that would be to neglect not only concomitant psychological factors but also the important physiological factor which seems most probably to have been at work) ; but I do not hesitate to regard it as one of the causes contributing to his mental instability and as a more important cause than Nietzsche's unhappy relations in regard to his fellow human beings.

Yet this conflict was, as far as we know, barely recognised by Nietzsche himself. What then was his main conscious interest and what relation did the developing pursuit of that interest bear to the fundamental inner conflict? In my book on Nietzsche I represented his interest as centred round the problem of culture.[1] That Nietzsche concerned himself with cultural questions and had a philosophy of culture is admitted by any serious historian, but the view that Nietzsche's interest *centred* round culture has been denied. One critic of my book, after pointing out that the view is not a new one (a fact of which anyone moderately acquainted with Nietzschean literature must be aware), goes on to maintain that the problem of culture is but a peripheral problem in the thought of Nietzsche and that the really central problem is religious. Now, if by cultural interest one meant little more than a devotion to *objets d'art* and to the externalities of culture, then this interest was most decidedly not the central interest of Nietzsche: what Nietzsche has to say on the subject in *Thoughts out of Season* makes this abundantly clear—*e.g.*, when he is writing of the "Culture-Philistine". The cultural problem for Nietzsche is the problem of man as such, his nature, his potentialities, his development, his relation to the world, his destiny; and it is in function of man's potentialities and needs that Nietzsche judges of ethics, politics, the State, the Church, religion, philosophy. As far as a transcendent God, the theistic Absolute, is concerned, Nietzsche emphatically denies His existence in words, and he does so precisely in the service of what he deems to be, or is determined to make, man's cultural interests. In this sense, on what one might call the plane of conscious expression, in word and statement, it is the cultural interest which is central and the religious interest which is formally subordinated thereto: it is in the interest of immanence,[2] of what Karl Jaspers calls Nietzsche's will to *Diesseitigkeit*, that Nietzsche denies the religious transcendent, and it is difficult to see how by any stretch of the imagination the myth of Superman and the doctrine of the Eternal Recurrence can be called an affirmation of transcendence. Such aspects of Nietzsche's philosophy may very possibly indicate that the dialectic of Nietzsche's thought always tended to outrun pure immanence, mere *Diesseitigkeit*; but if we consider simply Nietzsche's conscious purpose, it can scarcely be denied that both doctrines were meant to be expressions of his will to *Diesseitigkeit*.

Nevertheless, even if the cultural problem constitutes the chief interest of Nietzsche on the conscious level, that does not mean that the religious interest was not, or did not become, the central interest on the unconscious or repressed level. This may sound rather far-fetched at first hearing, but a simple illustration will make clear what is meant. Suppose a man

[1] *Friedrich Nietzsche: Philosopher of Culture* (Burns Oates, 1942, 8s. 6d.)

[2] By a philosophy of immanence I here mean simply a philosophy which denies the existence of a spiritual principle transcending the universe: I do not, of course, refer to a doctrine of immanence in the idealistic sense.

ho has been enabled, by personal ability and force of historical circumance, to rise to the position of leader of his nation. Now, this man ight say that his actions as leader were directed solely with a view to ie well-being of his people and he might think that this statement repreented the truth, while at the same time his actions and whole policy ight make it clear to the outside observer that the man in question was ally dominated by the motive of inordinate personal ambition, though e never fully realised the fact, would never explicitly admit it, even o himself. It might be that this man actually began with patriotic motives even though the means employed to realise his purpose were questionable), ut, in the course of time and with increasing success, the egoistic motive ame gradually to overpower and practically to supplant the patriotic notive—came, in fact, to reign as the dominant motive. On the self-onscious plane the leader would be a single-minded patriot, whereas nconsciously or half-consciously he had become an egoist on the grand cale. That such self-deception is possible on a smaller scale is a matter f personal experience for many of us: we may come to realise it in ourelves or we may see it (or fancy we see it) in others.

I suggest that an analogous process took place in the case of Nietzsche. He once said that he had always been an atheist, that atheism was natural o him; but in point of fact the story of his life makes it abundantly lear that, though he definitely abandoned religion early in life, he was ot an atheist from the cradle: given his upbringing, it would have been very strange if this had been so. However, one must admit that he abandoned the religion of his fathers at an early date and was already predisposed to accept the philosophy of Schopenhauer when he first became acquainted with it at the university of Leipzig. This early atheism was in the beginning a youthful phase and did not immediately develop into a really hostile attitude to religion, to the Christian religion in particular, and its quieter aspect is shown in the philosopher's earlier works, in those which he wrote as professor at Basle, when his chief interest was *really* the cultural interest. As time went on, however, Nietzsche was forced into a sharper *Auseinandersetzung* with Christianity since, if Christianity is true, it obviously makes a very great difference to one's view of human nature, human destiny and human ideals. Nietzsche judged that Christianity (and indeed all theistic religion, *pace* certain critics) has a deleterious effect on modern man, and so he rejected it; but at the same time the whole situation was complicated by his growing inner psychological tension, by his personal need for God which he refused to recognise. Deeply dissatisfied with the given, with man as he is, with contemporary society, even with the concrete "higher men," while yet refusing to surrender to the call of God and to his need of God, he tried to compromise by elevating his ideal of man "into the air," as it were—by evolving the Myth of Superman. The inner tension

was, however, too strong to admit of his maintaining a calmly critica view of religion, and of Christianity in particular, and we find that in creasingly violent attack on Christianity culminating in *Antichrist*, tha tension which is symbolised in the conclusion of *Ecce Homo*, " Dionysu versus Christ." It is a commonplace to remark that Nietzsche was n superficial and vulgar atheist, too busy with everyday life to think of th problems of religion : he was deeply concerned with the problems o religion, and the religious interest became more and more the dominan interest in his soul. To the end, no doubt, he would say and like to thin that he was entirely devoted to the interests of future man (animated b *die Fernstenliebe*), and that his attitude to Christianity was dictated simpl by these interests ; but in reality he became concerned chiefly with God and his violent hostility to Christianity (and, be it repeated, to theis in general) was an expression of his determination not to surrender, couple with a half-conscious realisation that the solution of the problem of value and the way out of Nihilism, both for himself personally and for mankin in general, was to be sought in religion. So far as he tried to affirm substitute for religion, Nietzsche was singularly unsuccessful, and hi attempt was bound to be unsuccessful, since no Myth can be a satisfactor substitute for Reality. His attempted deification of man was obviousl no solution of the religious conflict which tormented him to the end.

In the foregoing sense, then, it is correct to speak of the philosoph of Superman as a " mask," not in the sense that it was a deliberatel assumed mask, a mere piece of play-acting, but in the sense that it helpe to mask even from Nietzsche himself the profoundest needs and orienta tion of his soul. How many men and women in the modern world hav sought a substitute for religion in a myth of some kind or other, be the myth of the Race or the myth of the Nation or the myth of the Pro letariat ; but all myths have an uncomfortable habit of dying a natura or violent death on the impact of Reality, which is bound sooner or late to occur. It was probably partly owing to his isolated position and intro verted temperament that Nietzsche was unable to find personal satisfactio in his own myth or to mask completely from himself the deeper problems on the plane of the written word he is a philosopher of man, of cultur in the deeper and wider sense ; on the plane of the inner life he is a ma who came to shipwreck because he would not anchor in the harbou which was at hand, but obstinately persisted in making for an unrea harbour of his dreams. In fact, Nietzsche is a standing example of th man who, before God, refuses to be himself ; and this, in the terminolog of Kierkegaard (a man so unlike and yet, in some ways, so like Nietzsche is a form of despair.

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POST-WAR ARCHAEOLOGY IN IRELAND

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N August 1943, there was held at the University of London Institute of Archaeology a " Conference on the Future of Archaeology," and eport of the proceedings, giving summaries of the addresses and dis-sions, has since been published.[1] As a means of indicating existing ources for archaeology the Institute has published two small pamphlets ling respectively with archaeological organisations in Great Britain l in some European countries. A further conference is to be held in ndon in the September of this year and will deal with " Problems and spects of European Archaeology." These happenings have an interest us in Ireland as indicating that, in the general scheme of " post-war nning," there is, in Great Britain at any rate, an effort being made give archaeology its place.

The 1943 Conference was in reality a symposium or rather a series symposia at which papers were read by prominent British archaeologists l by such Continental archaeologists as happened to be able to attend. e papers were followed by discussions on the problems raised, and a ersity of views was to be noted on many subjects. Finality of decision s not achieved—or, indeed, aimed at—but the resolution passed at final session " That the problems raised by the Conference be referred the appropriate organisations " indicates that there is much more nning being done, if in a quieter and less vocal manner, under the spices of the more powerful learned societies and other institutions. e understand that a committee is in fact holding regular sittings to epare policy for post-war effort.

There emerges from a consideration of this attempt to plan for the st-war period in Britain two facts of prime importance for us in Ireland. ie first is that Britain, while waging the greatest war of her history, is lling to devote attention to a purely cultural matter and to one so far moved from the economic necessities of the moment as is the investiga-n of the material remains of history and prehistory. That such pre-cupation with cultural things was likely to be regarded as incongruous the midst of world-shaking military happenings was anticipated by e Conference Chairman (Sir Charles Peers) in his opening address ien he stated : " We have been told that this was no time for such light ings as archaeology or education, but I think we may say that Man

[1] Published as *Occasional Paper No.* 5 by the University of London Institute of chaeology.

does not live by guns alone . . ." He concluded with the word
" Whatever the post-war economy may bring, there will be a place
archaeological enterprise; and the Congress which we are here to
augurate is to point out the lines which we mean to follow." T
central fact of the holding of the Conference, as well as other planni
deliberations in British archaeology, indicates that there is every reas
why an attempt should be made to plan also for Irish archaeology—i
country that has been so fortunate as to be spared the worst consequen
of the war.

The second fact that is clearly obvious from the Conference rep
is that, while many of the problems discussed are essentially also
problems, the basis on which they can be discussed here is entirely differe
This difference arises from the fact that British archaeology has alre
behind it such a mass of investigation, discovery and synthesis as to ma
extremely meagre by comparison what has been done in Ireland up
the present. Nor do we need to go forward to 1943 for evidence of th
In 1932 Kendrick and Hawkes published their summary of work do
subsequent to the beginning of the first world war,[1] and this large volu
of condensed information makes one consider how small would be
similar record of work in Ireland during the same seventeen years. The
fore, it is necessary to emphasise that the basis of our planning is differe
The foundation is less ample not only in extent of work done but a
in the number of the *personnel* engaged, now and in the past, on Ir
archaeology. This lack of *personnel* is, indeed, one of the main expla
tions for the inadequacy of the work done.

But if the basis on which we must plan is different, many of
problems are the same or similar: the research programmes call
for attention; the training of archaeologists; the state-contribution
the extent to which state-control is desirable; the future of museu
national and local; archaeology in relation to education—in the scho
in the universities and in adult education.

We might find much interest in further discussing the proble
confronting British archaeology, but we should find more profit i
consideration of those aspects of the theme which are more especi
our own. Since we have already pointed to the comparatively sm
amount of work on which we have to build and have insisted that
is largely due to the under-staffing of archaeology in Ireland, let us
consider what is the strength of the available staff.

In considering *personnel* we shall first consider what is the Sta
contribution in this matter. The State is concerned with archaeol
in two ways—in its control and upkeep of the National Museum an
the preservation of National Monuments. It has thus taken u
itself, in very large measure, the care of movable ancient chattels an

[1] *Archaeology in England and Wales*, 1914-31, London 1932.

d monuments and buildings, and its responsibility in this respect has n very considerably enlarged by the National Monuments Act, 1930. The first part of this responsibility is administered by the Irish Anti- ties Division of the National Museum, which has custody of the great blic collection of Irish antiquities dating from prehistoric times down the Norman Invasion (and, in certain instances, later material). The ision contains also a limited amount of comparative material from ropean countries, the collection from classical lands, from Egypt and East, and a foreign ethnographical collection including some excellent terial, as well as a growing collection illustrating Irish ethnography— folk-culture, as it is more popularly called. The Act of 1930 provides t every find of an archaeological object is to be reported by the finder ectly to the Keeper of Irish Antiquities in the National Museum or irectly to him through the Garda Siochana. This in effect means t the State, through the agency of the Antiquities Division, has taken on itself responsibility for the rescuing of all such finds and, where cessary, the investigation of the find-circumstances. As the Museum a public institution, there is further devolved upon it the exhibition of material in such a way as to be attractive and educationally valuable to ferent classes of the public. For these duties the scientific staff of the tiquities Division at present appointed consists of three persons— luced, owing to the absence of the Keeper during the war, to two.

What may be referred to as the " field " aspect of state archaeology is der the control of the Commissioners of Public Works; the work of nserving the National Monuments of the twenty-six counties is in the arge of the Inspector of National Monuments. While the Inspector's ties range from prehistoric monuments to buildings of a very recent sterday, his main work is to deal with architectural remains, and the ncipal qualification required is in architecture rather than in archaeology.

We next turn to the universities. In each of the three constituent leges of the National University there is a chair of archaeology—one which happens to be vacant at the moment. In Trinity College (Dublin) d in Queen's University (Belfast) there is no official provision for the aching of archaeology other than classical archaeology.

This brief survey exhausts the list of professional appointments in haeology, and even in the widest reckoning the list is a very short one. may at once be conceded that it does not exhaust the list of those who services to Irish archaeology. There is a number of people who, ough they must of necessity earn their living in other ways, spend their sure in research on Irish antiquities—much to the profit of the subject. rther, it must be noted that much work will always fall to the share the non-professional archaeologist, who, having the advantage of being trammelled by official duties, has the opportunity of making a limited ld his own in an especial manner. He should, therefore, get every

facility for work and must on no account be omitted from considerat in the planning of future research. What must, on the other hand, firmly borne in mind is that archaeology cannot depend on the amat without a sufficiency of professional assistance. That which is eve body's business tends too easily to become nobody's business. Furth we must remember that Ireland is not over-blessed with the well-to who have a sufficiency of leisure and an intelligent desire to pursue so such subject as archaeology. Only rarely can we hope for men posses at once of the competence and opportunities of, say, Lord Dunraven, M Margaret Stokes or Mr. T. J. Westropp.

When one speaks of finance for archaeological research one has mind mainly field-work. While " desk archaeology " produces valua results and must always be a valuable concomitant of field-investigati yet without excavation our knowledge must remain full of lacun especially in regard to conditions of life in the past and to chronol based on exact observation. Excavation involves expense, mainly labour, and previous to 1932 excavations in Ireland were of neces limited in scope. In that year the large-scale excavations of the Harv Archaeological Mission began and were continued on a series of s of different periods until 1936, finance being provided either entirely the Mission itself or partly by a government grant from the Relief Unemployment Fund.

Money from this fund was first made available for archaeolog excavations in 1934 and continued to be provided until 1940. Dur these seven years a large number of excavations was conducted through the country under this scheme by Irish and foreign archaeologists. must be said that this decision of the Government so to provide fina for archaeological field-work was of immense importance for Ir archaeology, and the results can be said to have brilliantly justified expenditure. Subsequent to 1940 such support has no longer b forthcoming and excavation on the same large scale could not be und taken, though a certain amount of work has been carried on with aid of such small grants as can be provided by the Royal Irish Acade the Department of Education and the University Colleges. In cer instances the Department of Defence has assisted by allocating lab from the Army Construction Corps.

We have now seen what is the staffing of archaeology in Ireland we have considered the—mainly temporary—provision made for archa logical field research. What adjustments are necessary if properly plan archaeology is to flourish in the post-war period ? The intimate connec of the University with the supply of trained *personnel* must be immedia apparent. University students, however, naturally select those cou which are likely to enable them to earn a living. Judged from that vi point archaeology has not a high appeal. It is true that, in each of

niversity Colleges, the subject is taken as part of a course leading to a egree by many who are or will be teachers ; it provides a useful cultural ackground for other studies and helps to make intelligible to them the onuments of the countryside in which they live and, perhaps, work. gives also a sense of historical perspective that cannot easily be acquired rough any other intellectual medium. But even thus there is a difficulty. ther subjects, say history or geography, are useful qualifications for udents seeking teaching posts, though they may never become in a real nse historians or geographers. Archaeology is not a school subject nd its inclusion in his university course is not a strong recommendation r the teacher-graduate interviewing his prospective employer. Never-eless, because of the range of the subject and the number of lines of proach, the graduate who has studied archaeology and wishes to con-nue to work on it has opportunities for doing useful research such as are rdly available in any other subject. We have already insisted on the sured place of the non-professional worker in archaeology, and we are nfident that such workers can do much for their own intellectual develop-ent and for the advancement of the study of antiquities.

But the crucial test of the teaching of any subject in a University its ability to produce specialists in the subject. In archaeology the ifficulty is to find students who are willing to specialise, when the post-raduate prospects of employment are so slender. The position has in ct achieved the characteristics of a vicious circle. Since there are not penings there are few archaeologists, and when there are openings there a dearth of suitable applicants. Twice in the history of the National Iuseum of Ireland the Keeper of Irish Antiquities has been a non-rishman.

The position will, to a large extent, remedy itself if some indication is iven that the *personnel* of Irish archaeology will be increased and dequately remunerated in the future. Students will then find it of dvantage to prepare for appointments in the subject. Where these ncreases in *personnel* are essential must be obvious from our enumeration f the present staffing of the subject, but it may be useful to indicate some ggestions for improvement.

The scope of the Irish Antiquities Division of the National Museum ould of itself be sufficient evidence that its work cannot be dealt with dequately by a scientific staff of two or three persons. In 1927 a Com-ittee of Inquiry, at the request of the Minister of Education, investigated ne needs of the Museum and presented a report which was accompanied y an individual report presented by Dr. Nils Lithberg of the Nordiska Iuseet, Stockholm, who was invited here as an expert member of the ommittee of Inquiry. These two reports, which agreed on all major sues, recommended that the staff of the Antiquities Division be increased o a Keeper and five assistants. Dr. Lithberg's report gives detailed

suggestions for allocation of duties among the staff and thus shows th necessity for the proposed number of assistants. If this number wa necessary in 1927, it is more than necessary now since legislation (the 193 National Monuments Act) has so much increased the State's respon sibilities and consequently the work of the Division.

Again, if the 1930 Act meant a great increase of work and respon sibility in normal times, it involves much more in these war years increased tillage and turf-cutting; and, since these activities are not like to diminish in the immediate post-war period and are to have added them vast schemes of reconstruction, the number of finds of archaeologic objects is likely also to increase. Discoveries of antiquities are made two ways: either as a result of systematic excavation or incidental agricultural, industrial or other activity.[1] The one merges into the oth when the site of a chance discovery is made the subject of a systema excavation. It is then obvious that the greater the increase in tilla and allied activity and in industrial expansion, the greater also the like hood of antiquities being unearthed.

We have seen that legislation provides for the reporting of all su discoveries to the Keeper of Irish Antiquities in the National Museu but it must be borne in mind that there is many a turf-cutter and far labourer who is likely to discover a bronze-age grave or habitation-s or an ancient weapon or implement and who never heard of the Nation Monuments Act and knows nothing of the responsibilities it imposes him. For such chance-finders well-directed propaganda and instructi are needed. Our bogs provide an illustration. In these bogs Iri archaeology is blessed with a storehouse of antiquities which is, perha only equalled by the Danish bogs or the Swiss lakes. A constant trick of antiquities comes from them; but one wonders how much is lo unnoticed and unrecorded. We have evidence of important discover being brought to our notice by the slimmest of chances; we can have evidence of those that escaped even these slim chances. At present the is in Ireland the greatest campaign of turf-cutting ever known in c history. We should have an observer with a "roving commission who would visit the bogs being cut, show specimens of antiquities the workers to encourage their co-operation, and examine the peat-fa for structures—such as wooden causeways, ancient dwelling-places a so on. One such observer might prove to be quite inadequate for t work; but even one would be likely to change the trickle of antiqui into a stream and would place much valuable information on record for our bogs are notable in that they not only preserve organic rema but preserve also the evidences of climatic changes in their composit and in the microscopic grains of tree-pollen embedded in them.

[1] In how many varied ways antiquities are revealed in the soil may be seen from Grahame Clark's chapter on "Discovery" in *Archaeology and Society*, London 1939.

Post-war industrial expansion is, however, likely to bring problems her than those mentioned in connection with chance-finds of antiquities. he Minister for Industry and Commerce has already outlined to the ail proposals which involve the expenditure of immense sums of money, nd it is likely that some of these contemplated works will considerably ter the countryside in certain areas. It is, for instance, well known that ydro-electric development on a big scale is being planned, and this nvolves flooding river-valleys with a possible submergence of some nportant monuments. In the face of economic necessity these cannot e saved ; but it is essential, if this generation is not to earn the taunts f its successors, that these valleys and their monuments should be fully nvestigated before they are lost for ever. This implies " rescue excava- ion " on a great scale, and " rescue excavation " implies trained *personnel* eady for the work and the necessary financial provision for its execution.

Everything should not be left to the provision of the State. One of he obvious necessities of this country is a series of well-equipped and dequately-staffed local museums. Belfast has long since given a fine ead in this matter by providing a Museum to which the income from rate of about 1½d. in the £ is allocated—realising about £16,000 ; Cork as recently re-established its Museum which last functioned in 1921. Cork Corporation has allocated a rate of 1d. in the £ (about £1,000) to he Museum, while the Cork County Council votes a small annual sum owards its upkeep. The management of the Museum has been placed nder the control of the Governing Body of University College—the College providing the curator. This arrangement, which is subject to eview at the end of the first experimental year, is one which seems minently suitable for a museum in a University City. Armagh County Museum is supported by a not very large grant from Armagh County Council. In Limerick the Museum attached to the Public Library has ecently been re-organised, and in Waterford a Museum has been estab- ished ; but in neither case is there specific financial provision for upkeep nd staffing. Other museums in the country are those at Maynooth mainly ecclesiastical), at University College, Galway, at Kinsale (attached o the Vocational School), as well as small collections in some of the econdary colleges throughout the country. It will be seen, therefore, hat only in Belfast and Cork has anything like adequate provision been nade for the upkeep of local museums. It cannot be too strongly insisted pon that local museums, without sufficient financial provision for their pkeep, are likely to depend to too great an extent on the, possibly tempor- ry, enthusiasm of an individual or a group. On the other hand, it must e stated with equal insistence that properly financed and directed local nuseums should prove of great educational value in many respects.

A local museum should, to appeal to the interest of different classes f public, be a general museum and not one dealing solely with archaeology.

It may, therefore, be asked what is the connection between the establishment of local museums and the general expansion of archaeological studies. The connection is twofold. In the first place, the establishment of such local museums is likely to lead to an increase of general interest in archaeology, to the rescue of a greater number of finds and, because of the interest it awakens, to the better preservation of field monuments. In the second place, it will almost certainly be found in many cases that the most suitable curators for such museums are persons with a training in archaeology, even though the curator has to deal with material other than the purely archaeological. This is true because the archaeologist, to a greater extent than the student of other subjects, is of necessity museum-conscious. So much of his original material is stored in museums that the museum had for him the same function as has the library of manuscripts and other original materials for the historian. There seems every likelihood, therefore, that an increase in the number of efficient local museums would incidentally mean an increase of opportunities for trained archaeologists. Such an increase should also mean a more even distribution of archaeological research throughout the country; for the local museums would tend to act as centres for such research and as institutions where post-excavation activity on excavated material would be carried out under proper auspices.

In each of the countries of England, Scotland and Wales there is functioning a Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments which conducts a survey of the monuments of the respective countries and publishes volumes of reports—a volume for each county according as the survey progresses. Such a survey was called for in Ireland as early as 1911[1] and the demand has been frequently reiterated since then.[2] Subsequent to the passing of the 1930 Act, what might be called a desk-survey was initiated. All published accounts of field-surveys are being excerpted in the Office of the Inspector of National Monuments;[3] but this work loses much of its value because of the inability to collate the published accounts with the present condition of the monuments described and because it does not take cognisance of hitherto unpublished monuments except in a sporadic manner—in the case of areas surveyed by students or other voluntary workers. We, therefore, still await the provision of a properly constituted field-survey.

Excavation has already been touched upon, mainly in the matter of rescue excavations—on a small scale where necessitated by the investigation of the find-places of antiquities, or on a large scale where necessitated by the investigation of monuments that must suffer because of industrial projects. Such excavations are essential and may even have to take precedence

[1] *J.R.S.A.I.*, 41 (1911), 398.
[2] *e.g.*, R. A. S. Macalister, "Some Unsolved Problems in Irish Archaeology," *P.R.I.A.* 37 (1927), 245.
[3] H. G. Leask, "The Archaeological Survey," *J.R.S.A.I.*, 72 (1942), 1.

in the attention of archaeological workers; but they do not constitute a controlled programme of archaeological research regulated by scientific considerations. Such a programme would take account of the state of archaeological knowledge at a particular time, and efforts would be directed towards the more urgent problems. Financial provision for the work would incidentally relieve unemployment, largely among that class of the community most urgently in need of such relief—the unskilled labourers. It is not, however, desirable that the provision for such financial assistance should, as in the period 1934-'40, be made from the Relief of Unemployment Fund, nor should its method of spending be dictated too largely by the exigencies of the unemployment situation. The sites selected and the amount of labour involved should depend on scientific consideration rather than on the incidence of unemployment in a particular district. Should the unemployment problem become acute, archaeology can, in any case, be only a small alleviation of it.

Another problem that tended to become acute, as a result of the 1932-'40 large scale excavations in this country, was the question of publication. The publication of reports of archaeological excavations was undertaken by local archaeological societies, by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, and by the Royal Irish Academy—this last body being the only one capable of publishing the largest reports. Already these bodies were feeling their resources strained beyond capacity by the mass of material which was being produced by the excavators. It will be readily admitted that a continuance of large scale excavations is necessary and that, if such activity is to be of use, provision for the publication of results must somehow be made.

In the main we have, up to the present, argued for an increased programme of archaeological research and conservation work without specifically discussing the ends towards which such a programme might be directed. The final discussion of these more specific aspects of post-war planning in archaeology would involve another full-length paper and is, in any case, a matter that should best be settled by consultation among archaeologists rather than by the expression of views of any one person. It must, therefore, suffice to point to a few of the problems that seem to call for attention. It is interesting to note that at the London Conference, to which we referred at the beginning of this paper, certain outstanding problems were indicated; but no hard and fast programme was laid down, and we find in the report a very sensible warning from Mr. J. N. L. Myres against allowing planning to regiment research. Our enumeration, therefore, of a few of the outstanding problems facing Irish archaeology is intended to be indicative of what might be done rather than any attempt at planning a definitive programme.

If we accept the opinion generally accepted to-day that evidence is lacking of palaeolithic occupation in Ireland, we find ourselves for the first

time in the presence of human inhabitants in this country in mesolithic (middle stone age) times. The evidences of mesolithic occupation are to be found mainly in the north-east of the country. About 1903 these evidences attracted systematic attention from Coffey and Praeger, who investigated the Larne gravels. Study of the material was continued in recent years by Mr. Blake Whelan and was followed by the excavations under Dr. Movius, resulting in a series of reports and in his comprehensive book *The Irish Stone Age*.[1] Continuance of this work will certainly be called for in order to check and amplify the results achieved by Movius. It is work that requires the collaboration of the archaeologist and geologist—or, perhaps, could best be undertaken by an archaeologist with a sound geological training. It will have attraction for the popular as well as for the scientific mind as being the investigation of the earliest known traces of man in Ireland. At its more recent limit there is much ground for research in the elucidation of the continuity of mesolithic characteristics and manner of life into subsequent periods.

The neolithic phase of the Stone Age is one whose characteristics have only comparatively recently been recognised in Great Britain (in the inter-war period) and its recognition in Ireland was even more tardy. Already in the early years of the last decade, Northern Ireland archaeologists were coming to realise the spread of neolithic pottery in their area ; and it is perhaps one of the most striking justifications of the government scheme of excavations prior to 1940 that a number of sites produced neolithic pottery in the south, while some of them yielded also the houses of the neolithic inhabitants. We cannot, however, allow Lough Gur, Co. Limerick, where houses of neolithic and Early Bronze Age date have been discovered, to remain an isolated phenomenon. One of the aims of post-war expansion in archaeology must be a programme of exploration to indicate sites of a similar type.

Collaboration between archaeology and geology should produce valuable results in another and almost untouched field—in that of our early copper mines. It is generally accepted that, in Early Bronze Age times, Ireland herself produced the copper used in the many bronze implements dated to that period. We know also of the sites of ancient copper workings in various parts of the country—notably in Waterford, Cork and Kerry—but no attempt has yet been made to demonstrate which of these ancient sites are really prehistoric nor to indicate the methods used by the miners or the sources of their technique. If some of the sites prove to be no older than mediaeval times, their investigation will still be justified, since we know of no more of mediaeval than we do of prehistoric mining in Ireland.

In the great series of tombs known as megaliths, which in their various forms are to be found all over this country, we have yet another problem

[1] Cambridge University Press, 1942.

which should yield much knowledge of national and international importance. So far the evidence from the excavations conducted on them has been, to a certain extent, self-contradictory. Many of these contradictions would probably resolve themselves if a greater number of sites were excavated and if resources were available to enable the investigation of some of the remaining great untouched monuments.

Again, as a result of the large pre-1940 excavations, we are able to say that we now have made some advances in the study of that ubiquitous type of site, the fort, and the rather less common crannóg. The amount is still merely enough to whet our appetite for more. Of the 30,000 or so forts in the country, the number excavated is still extremely small, and much more work will be necessary before we can indicate a typological sequence or definitely say what is the significance of the different types of earthworks. A specialised type of fort is the promontory fort, well brought to our notice by the surveys of the late Mr. T. J. Westropp; but we still await excavation to point out to us its significance and even, in general, its dating. More spectacular as a class are the great forts of stone, and of these the Aran Islands examples are among the most impressive archaeological monuments in Europe. Yet every Irish archaeologist must feel tired of answering his friends' queries by stating that, beyond vague surmise, he can tell them nothing of the history of these forts.

One of the glories of Irish history is the period of early Irish monasticism, and the sites of the early monasteries are studded throughout the country. Yet, with the exception of Nèndrum, none has received the attention from an archaeological excavator that so many deserve. It must, of course, be admitted that many cannot be excavated because of the continued use of the sites as burial places, but there can be no doubt that a careful survey would show a large number which are not encumbered with burials and which would yield much information on monastic economy and organisation—information which cannot be obtained or cannot be fully interpreted from literary sources.

So far we have made suggestions for archaeological field-work. We shall now devote some attention to what might be called indoor or desk archaeology. When Coffey and Crawford produced their respective studies of Early Bronze Age material, they showed at once the importance of Ireland in the general European scheme, and the Early Bronze Age in Ireland came to be known among archaeologists as "Ireland's First Golden Age". The typological and distributional studies of Coffey and Crawford have since been amplified by other workers, but vast research on similar lines still awaits the desk archaeologists. Various bronze implements yet remain to be studied in the same fashion, and even more urgently does the pottery of the period call for investigation. It will take much more work than has yet been published or attempted to elucidate the many problems of Early Iron Age art and the succession of

art styles in the early Christian period. The absence of material from Roman occupation in Ireland makes these problems at once more difficult and fascinating. An art historian will still find much to work on in our sculptured stone monuments, notwithstanding Mlle. Henry's excellent studies, while the collaboration of the architect and the archaeologist will, we hope, ultimately produce for us a satisfying chronology of early Christian buildings in Ireland.

All these studies should, in the first place, result in a series of specialist monographs; but they should also result in a condensation of these monographs into authoritative guides suitable at once for the serious student in his early stages and attractive to the man in the street. Readers of *Victorian Doctor* will have realised the strenuous and successful efforts that went into Wilde's production of the "Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy." They may not so readily realise that Wilde's catalogue was something to be justly proud of in comparison with the products of any museums of that time. Unfortunately, we are now confronted with the fact that we have no museum guides which we can fittingly place beside such a work as Grimes's *Guide to the Prehistory of Wales as illustrated by the National Collections* (Cardiff, 1939).

This mention of the publication of guides for the intelligently interested "man in the street" brings to mind another duty that devolves on archaeologists. It must constantly be remembered that it is the public who pays the piper and that the public, therefore, deserves to hear something of the tune. This implies a frequently changing series of exhibits in our museums and the provision of lecturers who will be able, authoritively but popularly, to expound the material. The activities of these lecturers should not be confined to the halls of the National Museum. There is, outside our larger cities, an unsatisfied hunger for lectures of this type, and many a lecturer must have been amazed at the large, eager, and attentive audiences who listened to him when he happened to speak in the town hall or technical school of one of our country towns.

We have now outlined the present state of archaeology in Ireland and the necessary provision which must be made if proper research in the subject is to be conducted in the post-war period. No attempt has been made to suggest too fixedly the machinery by which expansion should take place. It would not be profitable at the moment to discuss in detail, as British archaeologists have been doing, the extent to which state-finance for archaeology should imply state-control. Our main argument resolves itself into a claim that additional *personnel* must be appointed to the service of Irish archaeology and that they must be given adequate resources to enable them to carry out their work. From a scientific, national and popular viewpoint the results will be the justification of the expenditure.

SEÁN P. Ó RÍORDÁIN

SOCRATES AND HIS MESSAGE

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WHAT gives Greek literature its undying attraction and its supreme value as an educational medium is the fact that, in reading it, one moves continually among masterpieces. No other literature provides a real substitute for Homer or Pindar, and no other period in the world's history can equal in literary production the century between Pericles and Demosthenes, when the genius of Athens reached its incomparable heights. The three tragic poets and Plato seem between them to have exhausted the possibilities of literary art; they can be imitated, perhaps equalled, in later ages, but never surpassed. Yet during the period which produced them there lived at Athens a man whom we may justly hold to have been the greatest of all Greeks and whom an interpreter of our own day has called the greatest teacher in European history—and he wrote nothing at all. The grotesque figure of Socrates the Athenian, whom his devoted admirers compared to Silenus, father of the uncouth Satyrs, wild denizens of the woods and mountains, was the man who more than any other pagan thinker or writer prepared the way for the Christian Gospel, laid the solid foundation for Christian ethics in the dictates of right reason, and first revealed to the mind of Europe the primacy of the spirit. It was not altogether in a flight of humanist enthusiasm that Erasmus invoked his intercession: "Sancte Socrates, ora pro nobis"—although Socrates was in the fullest and truest sense of the term the first and greatest humanist.

As long ago as 1901 Eduard Meyer could speak of the literature about Socrates as "endless". The nineteenth century had its Socratic as well as its Homeric Question. Renaissance Europe coupled with a new-found veneration for his mysterious personality its excessive reaction against the medieval Aristotle. As in the case of Homer, the Socratic problem was first posed in the era of Enlightenment, and modern discussion of it may be said to begin with Schleiermacher's essay, published in 1815. There have inevitably been many changes of critical fashion; Grote defended the Sophists, whom Socrates criticised, by pointing out that after all Socrates was one of them himself, and Nietzsche made him a symbol of the rational self-consciousness which he denounced as the enemy of true culture. During the last generation there has been a fruitful contest between two opposing sets of interpreters. According to the one, best represented by the Berlin philosopher Heinrich Maier,[1] Socrates was in no real sense a philosophic thinker but a preacher of moral self-mastery and self-sufficiency, the antitype of Christ who preached the oriental

[1] *Sokrates*, 1913.

religion of redemption. According to the other, brilliantly led by the two Scotch scholars John Burnet and A. E. Taylor,[1] Plato's Socratic dialogues, including the *Phaedo* and the *Republic*, are to be accepted as giving a completely faithful account of the elaborate metaphysical doctrine inherited by Plato from his master.

It is a lamentable but ineradicable defect in human nature that scholars regularly tend to approach such questions as this armed with whole batteries of preconceived views. The evidence for the career and teaching of Socrates is inevitably, as in all similar cases, complex and of varying cogency. In general it may be said to consist of the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, the Dialogues of Plato, and the *Memorabilia* and certain other minor works of Xenophon. There is, of course, other evidence besides that derived from these three main sources, and in particular the testimony of Aristotle (especially in his brief sketch of the development of philosophic doctrine in the first book of the *Metaphysics*) must be used to check that of Plato. All scholars, at all times, seem tempted for one reason or another to exclude part of this evidence from the case. Thus much of Plato was rejected as wholly fictitious by the German scholars of the past century, and even yet there is a tendency to rely overmuch on Xenophon's rather uninspired defence, which leaves unexplained precisely the greatness and originality of his defendant. On the other hand, the Scotch school incline to put Aristotle entirely out of court, in order to retain the more doubtful part of Plato's testimony, which results in confusion between the subject of the inquiry and the chief witness. The Germans still for the most part will have nothing to do with Aristophanes, treating his portrait of Socrates as not merely a caricature, which of course it is, but as a composite made up of many variegated fragments drawn from several sources. Here again Burnet and Taylor meet a negation with a rounded affirmative, but, as in the case of Plato, seem to attach too much historical value to what is after all mainly a very good joke. We have to steer our way between a bourgeois Socrates whose main characteristic is a respectable conformism and whose heroic end is almost inconceivable, and a mystic seer who passed on to his only true disciple Plato the full profundity of Pythagorean doctrine.[2]

Important as it is to fix as best we may the exact position of Socrates in the history of metaphysical thought, there is another aspect of his life which perhaps possesses a more vivid interest for our own particular period. This is the question of his relation to the culture of the fifth century. Historically speaking, he represents for us the reverse of the

[1] Full statements of their views may be found in Burnet's edition of Plato's *Phaedo* (1911) and Taylor's *Plato, The Man and His Work* (first edition, 1926).

[2] Two excellent recent discussions of the problem will be found in an article by Xavier Zubiri ("Socrates and Greek Wisdom," *The Thomist*, New York, Jan. 1944), and in the second chapter of Werner Jaeger's *Paideia*, Vol. II (reviewed in this issue of *Studies*). Zubiri, while giving a fine philosophical interpretation, appears to minimise unduly the positive content of Socrates' thought.

Periclean medal. He lived through the whole glorious period which saw the triumphs of the Athenian spirit. He witnessed the building of the Parthenon, heard Pericles speak, and was almost the exact contemporary of Sophocles and Euripides. Readers of the *Symposium* and the *Protagoras* of Plato will never fail to be impressed by the enchanting pictures they present of his intercourse with the leading figures, both senior and junior, of that wonderful age. Yet he turned his back on it all, was the relentless critic of its finest manifestations and its most cherished institutions, and died a martyr at the hands of those who wished for nothing so dearly as its unimpaired perpetuation. It is sometimes suggested that this surprising attitude of protest was called for from him by the degeneracy that overtook Athens during the long ordeal of the great war which continued for twenty-five years after the death of Pericles. Our evidence is, however, quite clear that he was a critic before the war began, and that his criticism was directed not against the accidental products of decline but against the Periclean age as a whole. His case thus raises for us a most interesting question: why did the greatest of Greeks reject and turn away from almost everything that was most typical of Greece's finest period? We must remember that when Pericles said that Athens was the school of Hellas, he was by no means thinking of the man who represents for us the greatest Athenian contribution to the culture of the world, and still less of that man's almost equally great disciple. He had in mind philosophers like Anaxagoras and teachers like Protagoras, strangers to whom the city had given a home and an audience. These, however, were the very men who were singled out by Socrates, along with the great statesman himself, his colleages and rivals, for his most devastating attacks.

In one respect Socrates recalls for us the best qualities of an Athens that vanished during his youth, the Athens of the "Marathon-fighters," whose virtues had defeated the Mede. In his integrity, his courage, and his devotion to justice and the laws, he reminds us of an Aristides or an Aeschylus. Like the first he suffered for justice' sake, and like the second he set more store on valour in war than on the literary art, which he never would practise, but over which his complete mastery is attested alike by Plato and Xenophon. We are told by Ion of Chios that he was the friend of Archelaus, who belonged to Cimon's circle, and it is not unlikely that in his early youth he was the friend also of the latter. Cimon was a foe of extreme democracy and an advocate of friendship with Sparta. Socrates was far more radical than Cimon on the first point, and there is good evidence that he would at least have agreed with him on the second. No one could have been more of an Athenian than Socrates was. In the touching appeal which he imagines the Laws of the city as making to him in Plato's *Crito*, he is made indirectly to boast that he had only once left Athens, apart from military service, in his life, and then on some semi-

religious mission to Corinth. As the average Athenian was constantly travelling on business or in the state's service, this is the same as to say that he was more Athenian than the Athenians themselves. His teaching was directed to his fellow-citizens; only long after his death did it become the inspiration of a philosophy intended for citizens of the world. Yet, though he did his military duty in exemplary fashion, he deliberately refrained all his life long from taking part in politics. To say so of anyone nowadays is perhaps a banality; in Athens it implied that he was a most astonishing exception. We can hardly exaggerate the significance of this abstention, and we may take it that the emphasis on his stay-at-home life had the same significance. In both we see a striking protest against what was most typical among the Athenians of his day, those "busybody" citizens who, as Thucydides makes their Corinthian enemies declare, could neither keep quiet themselves nor let anyone else alone. Down to the least details of his conduct the life of Socrates indicates his passionate belief that, even in its most brilliant manifestations, the culture of Periclean Athens had gone disastrously astray.

Thucydides has given us an unforgettable picture of the material and spiritual collapse that supervened on the great war which began in 432. The case of the great historian is peculiar, for though his family connections should have made him the enemy of Pericles, the tragic outcome of the war caused him to represent that stateman's ascendancy as a kind of golden age in retrospect and the first years of the war under his guidance as the city's finest hour. His dry, if powerful, rationalism also led him to seek the causes of the disaster in a mere failure of judgment on the part of politicians who because of this failure became the victims of the play of blind chance. Socrates saw deeper than did Thucydides, whose description of the Athenian government under Pericles as "in theory a democracy, but in practice the rule of the First Man" seems almost like an attempt to answer his radical condemnation. His strictures were aimed not at democracy as such, but at the whole *ethos* of a system which debased the "royal art" of government and made it the plaything of clever fools. It is clear from both Plato and Xenophon that Socrates had no more use for Themistocles and Pericles than he had for their more rabid heirs and successors men like Cleon and Hyperbolus. Here again modern judgment is apt to be misled by Thucydides and to see a fundamental contrast where there was only a difference of degree. In the view of Socrates, the calamity could hardly be said even to have begun with the institution of democracy or with its radical development in the early years of the Periclean regime. It was more far-reaching than any political system, and Socrates was if anything a more determined opponent of the dictatorships which tried to liquidate democracy at the end of the war than he was of the democracy itself. As he saw it, the fault lay in the coincidence of great power and wealth, such as characterised the Athens of his time, with a widespread

nd deep-rooted ignorance about the essential purpose and meaning of ife. This ignorance was made more disastrous still by the prevalence n Periclean Athens of a totally inadequate—indeed radically false—view of he aims and methods of education, and the rise to great eminence and steem of teachers who assiduously preached and practised this falsehood.

The two most finished of Plato's early dialogues, *Protagoras* and *Gorgias*, actually confront Socrates with the leading representatives of his type of education, and we need have no doubt they give us a faithful account of his criticism in its main outlines. During the fifth century, the immemorial function in Greek life of the poets, who claimed divine inspiration for their teaching and whose works embodied in ever-new forms of marvellous beauty and perfection the traditional wisdom of the race, had been usurped by men who no longer depended on inspiration and no longer purported to perpetuate tradition. The Sophists, as they proudly termed themselves, brought to a high pitch of artistic excellence the new art of prose discourse, which they had to all intents and purposes invented, and which through their successor Isocrates and his much later imitator Cicero was to become the model for the art of prose-writing in all the modern languages of Europe. They inaugurated the deliberate study of language and the practice of rhetoric as an accomplishment to be acquired by systematic training and used for the purpose of influencing the newly-established democracies of Athens, Argos and other Greek states. As far as mere technique went, their work was admirable, even if, as in the case of Gorgias, it was often overdone. Plato's *Apology* shows us that Socrates himself was a past-master in the technique of persuasive discourse and that he could use its rules for his own ironic purpose more skilfully than the Sophists themselves. This impression is completely borne out by the caricature of Aristophanes and the pedestrian description of Xenophon. On the other hand, *Gorgias* enables us to perceive what in the view of Socrates was amiss with the whole splendid new departure. The practitioners of the art of discourse claimed to use it for the purpose of *paideia*, a term to which they gave the novel meaning of systematic higher education. Unfortunately the content of their teaching was, for all its apparent brilliance and their enormous success in attracting pupils, very inferior to its form.

The glaring contrast between the two sides of the Sophists' activity was not of course their fault, but rather their misfortune. We have no reason whatever to think of Protagoras, Hippias, Prodicus and Gorgias as other than really great men; and for all the irony of the portraits of them left us by Plato, it is quite clear that Socrates felt true respect for them even while he criticised their work. All the Sophists were, of course, not as intellectually and morally respectable as these four, and if we wish to form an idea of the depths to which the profession of Sophist could sink we have only to read *Euthydemus*, or even the description of Thrasymachus

in the first book of the *Republic*. It should be remembered that the heyda of the whole movement was the thirteen years of peace (445-432) whic intervened between the first and second great wars of Athens with Sparta The foundation of Thurii in 444, an act by which Pericles sought to re establish his city's claim to be the leading state of Greece, was noteworth for the collaboration of some of the most brilliant among the Sophists including Euthydemus ; and Protagoras himself had a hand in draftin the new city's constitution. The misfortune of the Sophists was that the came forward at a time when the speculative intellect of Greece had com to a temporary stop. Ionian " science," which, as the late Professo Cornford has lately pointed out, was much more like the speculation o the ancient sages than what is now meant by the word, had gone as fa as it could with its own methods. Plato's *Phaedo*, in its account of th teaching of Anaxagoras, shows exactly what its limitations must have bee So great was the preoccupation of the Ionians with external nature tha even when Anaxagoras made the brilliant discovery that the world i ordered by intellect, he did not know what to do with his discovery " Science " by the middle of the fifth century had produced a numbe of schools whose teachings were mutually irreconcilable. At the same tim prolonged intercourse with the outer world—again mainly through th activity of Ionians—had shown that religion, morals, and principles o government, in fact all the products of the human intelligence, wer subject to greater or smaller differences from one country or people t another. These two developments taken together were bound for the tim being at least to lead to a kind of universal relativity and what we shoul now call agnosticism. Knowledge had come to consist in a mere serie of opinions, which meant that in the deeper sense it had no content at al Nothing could give a clearer idea of this emptiness than the famous sayin of Protagoras : " About the gods I am not in a position to know anything either that they exist or that they do not exist." The distance betwee this and the almost Hebraic conception of Zeus the All-God, in whon Justice, Wisdom, and Power were united, that we find in Aeschylus' last trilogy (458) is truly enormous. Yet Protagoras was already a famou man ten years after the *Oresteia* was produced.

A third and very serious factor in the Athenian cultural crisis was th product of the new democracy itself. The essence of Greek democracy wa *isonomia*, equality before the law, which was contrasted sharply with th *eunomia*, or prevalence of good laws, characteristic of such reactionary state as Sparta or Corinth. Of the two other slogans in the modern revolu tionary triad, fraternity would have been nearly meaningless to a Gree ear, and while liberty was prized for the state, this implied neither that th citizen was free of obligation nor that it was in any way wrong for one stat if it had the power, to enslave others. Athenian leaders like Pericles an Cleon made no disguise of the fact that the rule of Athenian democrac

ver other communities was in effect a tyranny, and the famous " Melian ialogue " in Thucydides shows us how this tyranny could work out in ractice in an extreme case. One of the causes of the failure of Athens o build a great united Greek state after the defeat of Persia was in fact ie Janus-like character of her democracy. Carried to the fullest extreme f equality at home, it never extended its valuable privileges to the other ommunities which formed what the Athenians quite bluntly called their mpire. Not only was there no such thing as even a distant approach to ommon citizenship ; but, as the result of a law sponsored by Pericles imself, an Athenian citizen could not legitimately marry a wife from nother Greek state. Internally, however, the logical conclusion of xtreme equality as between the members of the limited citizen class was iat all positions in the state were open to all citizens irrespective of in-ellectual or other merit. High offices were conferred by lot, and the ordi-ary Athenian was in fact expected to devote his whole time to the work f the state. At the same time the sovereignty of the popular assembly, f which all citizens were members, was supreme. It governed without an xecutive through a series of standing committees, commissions, and oards of officials such as the generals, who formed an exception in that hey were elected yearly and that some attention was in their case paid to ompetence.

The result of this system of extreme equality was naturally to put a remium on readiness in speech, persuasive power, and a kind of super-cial ability which we should nowadays call smartness. It was in order o acquire these qualities that young men turned to the Sophists, and it s easy to see how fatally appropriate to their immediate needs was the ophistic combination of technical perfection in speech with agnosticism n opinion. Although certain of the Sophists, such as Hippias, boasted f their capacity to teach anything—Hippias himself was something of mathematician and is said to have been the first to have used mathematics or educational purposes—the typical professor of the art was a man who aught how to argue, and did so in such a way that his pupils could advance qually good arguments for both sides of any question. One result of this oncentration on technique to the exclusion of real knowledge or true isdom was that the training first elaborated for the service of democracy ould be used with equally powerful effect for the purposes of tyranny hen the wheel turned in that direction. Alcibiades, who declared that emocracy was " acknowledged folly " and Critias, who perished as leader f a dictatorial junta, were the products in the second generation of such eaching as that of Protagoras, that " man is the measure of all things ". t was merely the blindness of the democratic leaders, themselves trained n the same school, that caused the blame for the conduct of Alcibiades nd Critias to be laid at the door of Socrates. What was common to both ides was the tendency to test every action by success, to believe that

might is right, and to expect from the new *paideia* and its professors not t training in real virtue but in a kind of showy frivolity. Such a characte as the fictitious Callicles in Plato's *Gorgias* is an ideal demonstration o the narrow interval which with such an education separated the democr from the dictator.

So great was the variety at this time in the ideas which agitated th Athenian public, and so many were the powerful currents of opinio traditional, revolutionary, and reactionary, that there is always a certa risk of over-simplification in any attempt to describe the situation whic led to the Socratic withdrawal. A comparison between Sophocles, wh represents a splendid effort to maintain the traditional function of poetr and Euripides, who was open to every wind of doctrine and whose pla illustrate with remarkable fullness the chaos of contemporary thoug may perhaps serve as an indication of the whole problem. If we set besi both of them their much younger contemporary, Aristophanes, in who work the latest ideas of the Sophistic enlightenment struggle with t prejudices and tenaciously-held beliefs of the Athenian country-dwelle we get a further impression of its complexity. What is at any rate qui clear is that the traditional Athenian religion and morality, brought its highest expression for the generation of Marathon and Salamis in th plays of Aeschylus, had largely broken down under the impact of dem cracy and the new education. The result of the breakdown is almo painfully demonstrated by Euripides, in whose plays the old gods ha become mere blind forces of nature and who finally, in works like *Herac* and *Ion*, prepared the way for Hellenistic fatalism by his deification Chance. With this development the possibilities of Tragedy, in whi Athenian genius had concentrated all the previous greatness of poetr were exhausted, and this meant the end of poetry itself. One irreversib consequence of Sophistic activity was the supersession of poetry by pros and this was merely a symptom of the self-consciousness in which Gre rationalism had come to its maturity. By the end of the fifth centu Greek culture was in grave danger of petering out into the sort of th trickle of superficial rhetoric which centuries later was to give a tawd adornment to the end of the Roman Empire. If we imagine a Greece which there was no Socrates and thereby neither a Plato nor an Aristot we can perhaps measure the extent of the threatened disaster.

Socrates may thus be said to have found the intellect of Greece eith at a full stop or debased by being turned to unworthy objects. His wo with all due allowances for differences, may not unfittingly be compar to the work later done by Christianity in revivifying the civilisation Rome and giving Europe new opportunities both for art and for intelle Under the inspiration of Socrates, aided by his own genius, Plato creat a new kind of educational institution, which was in later ages to be t parent of the university. As an instrument for the public propagation

s doctrine, he also created a new literary medium and a new kind of prose, termediate between the old poetry and the rhetoric of the Sophists, and taining from the former a power and freedom of expression such as the tter, for all its splendour, never could reach. The content of his teaching as a synthesis of Ionian speculation with the psychological realism and gorous dialectical method which he had learned from Socrates. Modern ebates about the exact indebtedness of pupil to master have rather obscured s reality and extent in an effort to reach an unattainable precision on details. lato's own early dialogues, if read as they were meant to be read, without ıe microscopic scrutiny which sometimes deadens literary receptiveness, re enough to show how enormous an influence he himself attributed to is teacher. If we compare without prejudice the distorted picture f Socrates that we gain from the *Clouds* of Aristophanes with the heroic ıaracter we encounter in the dialogues, we are forced to the conclusion that ıe Platonic school must have been modelled on an intimate association etween Socrates and his chosen companions. Like Plato and his later upil Aristotle, several of these companions—such as Antisthenes, Aris-ppus, Euclides and others—founded their own associations after the Master's death. No one doubts the existence of these so-called " schools," though their existence is no better attested than that of Socrates' own. When he denies in the *Apology* that he has ever taught anyone, his words ıow that he is repudiating any similarity with the Sophists, not denying ıat he had " companions " of his own. The very word " companion " y which they were designated was later applied by Plato to his own ssociates and has come down to us as the title *Socius*, or Fellow, for the taffs of modern colleges.

Coincidence between Aristophanes and Plato must surely also force s to believe that the association of Master and Companions was in some ense described as a " mystery ". In the *Clouds* the ridiculous old man trepsiades has clearly to undergo a mock " initiation " on his entry to the *hrontisterion* or Thought Institute, a title which seems to reproduce a avourite expression of Socrates himself. It is unnecessary to go as far as rofessor Taylor[1] in his conclusion that this " mystical " element in the ocratic association indicates Pythagorean influence, though the burning f the *Phrontisterion* at the end of the play does suggest an analogy with the urning of Pythagorean meeting-houses in Southern Italy some years earlier. ıs in Plato's own case, there was clearly a distinction between the intimate riends of Socrates and the wider public which the latter sought to reach y his " protreptic " discussions, just as the former did by his dialogues. Ve are not altogether at a loss for information as to the intellectual acti-ities of the inner circle. However many of the details in the *Clouds* may e due to comic invention, comparison with Plato and Xenophon again oints to the conclusion that one at least of these activities was the practice

[1] *Varia Socratica*, 1911, essay entitled " The Phrontisterion ".

of systematic definition.[1] This art of *diairesis*, which implied at least a beginning of logic, remained the central feature of all training in method both in the school of Plato and in that of Aristotle. A fragment of the fourth-century comic poet, Epicrates[2], shows the pupils of Plato engaged in much the same kind of study that is burlesqued in the *Clouds*. Like Plato, it is quite probable that Socrates, just as Aristophanes jocosely depicts him as doing, made all the knowledge current in his time his province in his discussions with his chosen companions; but, like Plato, he did not purport to teach any of the "sciences" as such. He rather used them all for his own purpose, which was fundamentally the same as Plato's—to enable those who associated themselves with him and were initiated into his "mystery" to acquire a true insight into the nature and destiny of the soul.

This conception of knowledge as insight, to be gained by a rigorous process of self-examination and a thorough questioning of concepts such as "virtue" and "education" which were generally taken for granted, is the key to the famous paradoxes with which Socrates both confused and delighted his hearers. He took the traditional precepts of Greek wisdom such as the Delphic "know thyself" and traditional terms like *aretê* and *psychê*, and by his never-ending enquiry extracted from them what was in effect a wholly new meaning. His questioning demonstrated that when the Sophists spoke of the possibility of teaching virtue or of self-sufficiency as an ideal of life, as did Protagoras and Hippias, they did not really know what they were talking about. For himself he claimed no positive knowledge—indeed its repudiation was the foundation of his whole life-work—but he did claim to possess in his very ignorance an instrument with which not only the antiquated wisdom of the poets but the new science of the Sophists could be tested. The famous Socratic ignorance was the secure basis for the most radical and the most rational inquiry, which was to lead in turn to the whole dazzling growth of European philosophy and science. This splendid fruition was, however, only an indirect consequence of his work. It is quite correct to say that he was no philosopher in the metaphysical sense, though his *diairesis* was the indispensable prelude to metaphysics. What he was interested in was the personality of the citizen. Critics are almost certainly right in refusing to attribute to him the Platonic doctrine of forms. In this we are bound to follow the decisive verdict of Aristotle, who had, in spite of Taylor's denial, much more information on the subject than he could get merely by reading Plato's dialogues.

In one sense at least Aristotle was not so much diverting the progress of Greek thought after Socrates on a path which led it back to Ionian science, as Jaeger maintains, but rather going behind Plato's Pythagoreanism to

[1] On this point the arguments of R. Philippson, *Sokrates' Dialektik in Aristophanes' Wolken*, Rheinisches Museum, 1932, appear to me to be final.

[2] Fr. 11, Kock.

the true teaching of the first master. There is another extremely important respect in which Socrates seems to lead straight to Aristotle. This is his conception of an " aim " or " end " (*skopos*, *telos*) of human activity, a conception which, as Jaeger justly states, " changed the history of the human spirit ".[1] The view that education is a training of the whole man, that its object is neither superficial smartness nor technical ability in special fields, and that the end of man is not wealth or power but spiritual perfection, all forms part of Europe's abiding debt to Socrates. It was he also who for the first time introduced into European life the conception of an absolute moral standard which can be attained by reason and which rises superior to tradition, the power of the state, or temporary fashion. The protest of an Antigone against the tyranny of the " enlightened " state had rested upon a basis of emotion and tradition. Socrates gave all such protests a secure foundation in the logical insight of the rational soul. By so doing he may rightly be said to have introduced into history the problem of the Church as against the state. Such a conflict as that depicted in Mr. Aldous Huxley's *Grey Eminence*, between power politics and the contemplative life, is essentially a Socratic as well as a Christian conflict.

The reaction of Socrates to the disastrous tendencies of contemporary Athens was far from being one of simple escape or of quiescent despair. Certain of his disciples carried his teaching to excess in these directions. Aristippus of Cyrene taught that the only tolerable life was henceforth that of a *metoikos*, a stranger in every city and citizen of none, and his pessimism was the foundation of Epicurean seclusion. Others, like Antisthenes, overemphasised the self-sufficiency (*autarkeia*) and the heroic indifference to pleasure as well as pain which was so marked a Socratic characteristic, and turned them into what was later to become the " apathy " of the Stoics—a kind of moral indifference which was as brutal and as futile as it was stubborn and courageous. The Socratic response was one of ceaseless activity, but at deeper levels than either of these. It can best be described, in the phrase of Professor Arnold Toynbee, as a "Withdrawal-and-Return ". Socrates realised, far more clearly than any of his contemporaries, that the evils afflicting society could not be cured by mere attempts to restore what was past, while the more thorough application of current nostrums only made them steadily and rapidly worse. Like a physician, he sought first for the root of the disease, but he had no fashionable or facile remedy. His cure involved his own martyrdom and the apparent failure of his life's work with the scattering of his disciples. But, as Plato makes him prophesy in his last speech, his spirit could never again be got rid of. After his life and death, " a life without self-examination " would never again be long possible or tolerable to European man.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

[1] Jaeger, *Paideia*, II, p. 69 and p. 381, note 179.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY L. MCKENNA, S.J.

LXXII

POET REJOICES ON TOMAS'S ESCAPE FROM DANGER

1. Beag nach lór a luaidhim dhe
a dtiocfadh d'ulc dá éise ;
gidh cúich gá mbiadh breath an fhill
a leath nó a trian ní thuirmhim.

2. Do fhóir Dia Bhréifne mbraonaigh
bhfairsing bhféaraigh bhfionnraonaigh,
gach úir re h-iodhnaibh taraidh
san iobhraidh úir éarlamhaigh.

3. Latsa a mheic Bhriain an bhairr thais,
do fhóir Dia Bhréifne mbraonghlais ;
tú, a shlat Chuilt, ar do chagar
bac an uilc nír fhóbradar.

4. Gor fhoillsigh Dia bha-dhéine
fios duid, a chinn Choirrshléibhe,
a fhlaith Gabhráin gan ghráin dtreas,
rob áil t'aghbháil i n-uaingheas.

5. Ní hamhlaidh sin tarrla an toisg
ba maith gon tí rod teagoisg ;
do-chuadhais ón lucht rod ling,
a bhfuarais d'ulc ní áirmhim.

6. A mheic Bhriain nocho bréag damh
ionLogha fhuarais rabadh ;
ba gaoth mon-uar t'fhear rabhaidh
a sduagh Bhreagh ód bhiodhbhadhaibh.

7. Nó is amhlaidh fhuarais a fhios
sluagh ar tí [theachta id] roilios
ó bhalbhthuinn ag béin re tír
go réidh, a bharrthruim bhaismhín.

8. Nó no rob é t'fhear rabhaidh
gé do-bhiream baramhail,
fód glan mar bha gnáth re Lugh
ba gar do chách god chogur.

9. Bíd ort i n-am na troda
buadha Logha Lámhfhoda ;
tearc, a ghéag Cláir, nach cualaidh
méad t'áigh ó na hiolbhuadhaibh.

10. IonLogha thú, a dhreagoin Druing,
i n-ágh nó 's ionChon Chulainn ;
cóir do sheachna, a bhadhbh Bhearnais,
deabhtha th'arm is inFhearghais.

11. A mheic Bhriain na dtachor dte,
Tomás gidh é th'ainm baisde,
duid, a laoich Annla, is ainm Lugh
re gairm th'anma ní hantur.

12. Lugh mhac Eithne an earla fhinn
bráithreas nír fhaomh fa Éirinn ;
ba fraochdha rinn áigh an fhir
do mhill a bháigh re bhráithribh.

13. Fuath do Lugh fa iadh nUisnigh
—do b'aithreach don fheadhoinsin ;
ba lán gáidh gach tír ó dtreas,
nír mhín a mbáigh ná a mbráithreas.

14. Is casmhail thusa, a thuir Dhor,
is Lugh re maicne a mháthor,
glór fáidheadh ag dul fan dreim
gan Lugh d'áireamh fa Éirinn.

15. Is í sin ainbhreath ro b'áil
do bhreith ortsa, a fhir Ghabhráin,
mad chuid don chionsa Chláir Bhreagh
dar liomsa nírbh áil t'áireamh.

16. Biaidh áireamh as uaisle ort ;
[ní dá] bhfuil, a chleath Chianocht,
gan ríomh ní fhágmaid dot ágh
mar do sgríobh Pádraig peannbhán.

17. A-déar dhuid, a fhir Eine,
uirsgéal ar a fháisdine ;
tocht iomshlán ó do éad soin
breág d'iomrádh nochor fhóboir.

18. Ag finnChill Fhearta an fheoir bhuig
[aon do láibh] dar loigh Pádruig
an amhra do fhóir inne
tarrla ar a óidh aislinge.

19. Tarfás dó bile buadha
sa mhoighse, a fhir fhionnChluana,
méad an taroidh do thoill air
nír shamhail coill re craobhaibh.

20. Iongnadh re habhsdal fhear bhFáil
do ghluais gach coill n-a chomhdháil ;
nochtaid ochta geala gleann
feadha ag tochta n-a thimcheall.

21. Lucht cnuasaigh ag cnuas a chraobh
do-chonnairc Pádraig peannchaomh ;
nír thearcthana a dhuille dhe
ealtadha ón chruinne chuige.

22. Musglais Pádraig na bpeann n-óir
nachar mhaoidh mheadhar éagcóir
réim an chroinn gá labhra leis ;
poinn a amhra do innis.

23. Do chan Phádraig phuirt Chime
ar n-innise a aislinge :
" ros béar féin go beacht a breath
fa réim cheart " ar an cléireach.

24. " Cuingidh ghéabhas an gortsa
bríogh an chroinn do-chonnarcsa "
Dia nír chan chogur nar thuig,
do chan re phobul Phádraig.

25. " Is iad coillte, a chrann soichleach,
do iadh mun gcrann gcraobhthoirtheach
—is fa cheart is dóigh gach dream—
na slóigh ag teacht n-a thimcheall.

26. " Ionnmhus an cnuas do fhear as
éigis na healta iarrfas,
tromdhámha gá n-aithne air
orrlámha chaithmhe an chnuasaigh.

27. " Barr rug orraim ó fheadhaibh
barr an chroinn ghil ghéigleabhair ;
is í rachlann chaomh an chroinn
gach craobh dá dhathbharr dhíoghoinn."

28. Crann buadha nar thearc toradh
t'athairse, a ghéag gormCharadh ;
a dhreagun Cé an chridhe ghloin,
an bile rob'é th'athoir.

29. Tusu craobh bhairr an bhile,
a leomhain ghlain Gháirighe,
a fhlaith Callmhaighe as clú linn,
is tú tarngaire an Táilginn.

30. Is tú, a Mhéig Shamhradhán shaoir,
leannán Bréifne an bhuird sgothchaoimh,
a chraobh phuirt bhraonamlaigh Bhreagh,
do shaorabhlaibh ghuirt Ghaoidheal.

31. Tógbháil chridhe dod chliaraibh
t'ágh, a chonchair chaoiliallaigh,
saor ó fheirg uaibhrigh t'fhaghlaidh,
a ghruaidhghil deirg dhonnabhraigh.

32. [A] rosg dá ndeach [dod] dhreich óig
inghean úr éadaigh sgárlóid,
a bhile Geirge, do-gheibh
deirge agus gile id ghruaidhibh.

33. Mailghe donna as dubh guaire,
agus rosg gorm géaguaine,
folt mar umha n-a fhailghibh,
ort ag dula ar donnmhailghibh.

34. Fuarais ó Dhia—is deimhin sin—
a Mhéig Shamhradháin shuirghigh
buaidh ndealbha is n-einigh ar-aon
a dheighfhir Eamhna, d'aontaobh.

35. Buaidh n-áigh ort, a fhir Chodhail,
buaidh mbuga ar do bhrughodhaibh,
cúis fhormaid re gach sluagh soin
buadh gcomhraig ar bhar gcathoibh.

36. Buaidh séad oirbh—ní cóir a cheilt—
buaidh molta oirbh ban imeirt,
déanumh ionnluis bhar sluaigh sin
buaidh n-ionnmhuis ar bhar n-éigsibh.

37. A mheic Briain na mbriathar mbinn,
leath t'einigh nochon áirmhim
[acht] tabhairt shéad mbuadha id bhais,
a ghéag Cluana, nír charais.

38. A Thomáis Chruachna an chnis ghil,
a Mhéig Shamhradhán shuilbhir,
lat gach giall dá ndleaghair dhe
do dheabhaidh fa iadh n-Éile. Le leath Cuinn.d.o

39. Mac Dé go ndearna, a Nualaidh,
an earrla choim chraobhdhualaigh,
congnamh dan loinn treabh do tháth,
let fhear led chloinn led chonách.

40. Anocht nach dearg do dhreich ngil,
a inghean mhall Mhéig Uidhir,
a shlat Bhreagh, ní dolta dhe
ad geal n-ochta ad geal ngáire. Re

41. Sgaoileadh Dia goirmidh do ghlais,
a Shitriug mac Bhriain bharrchais,
bidh maith díon ar ndomhain [é]
ar fhoghail, a ghríobh Gháille. Le

Translation

1. What I have said of the evils resultant therefrom is almost enough for the moment
I have not mentioned a half—or a third—of the treachery whoever attempted it

2. God has ever guarded Bréifne well-watered, broad-extending, rich-grassed, fair
surfaced ; every plot of earth in this fresh oak-grove blessed by saints brings fort
its fruit.

3. O soft-haired son of Brian, with thy help God has guarded fresh moist Bréifne ; yet
when thou wert plotted against (?), O Wand of Colt, they (Bréifne's folk) did no
try to stop the evil !

4. Folk wished thee taken unguarded, but then, O Chief of Coirrshliabh, Prince o
Gabhrán, no shirker of fight, God Himself revealed (the plot) to thee.

5. It did not turn out so (i.e. as they wished) ; he who warned thee did well ; thou
didst escape thy attackers—I say naught of the injuries to thee.

6. O son of Brian—'tis truth I tell—thou wert warned as Lugh was : O Pillar of Breagha,
'twas a scent coming from thy foes that warned thee—I grieve to have to tell of it.

7. Or perhaps, O prince whose hair is so heavy, whose hand so smooth, 'twas by some wave whispering gently to the shore that thou didst know of the host coming to thy castle.

8. Or perhaps, though I can only imagine it, what warned thee was, as it used to warn Lugh, some shining spot of earth near to the foe who plotted to attack thee.

9. In the hour of battle thou hast all the prerogatives of Lugh Lámhfhada; O Branch of Clár, few have not heard of thy great fortune coming from thy many prerogatives.

10. In battle thou, O Dragon of Drong, art like Lugh or Cú Culainn; O Raven of Bearnas, 'twere well to avoid thee, the plying of thy sword is like that of Fearghus.

11. O son of hot-battling Brian, though thy baptismal name be Tómás, thy true name, O Hero of Annla, is Lugh; when thy name is cried out foes dally not! (?)

12. Fair-haired Lugh, son of Eithne, would not allow his kinsfolk's claim to Éire; fierce the fury of that hero whom his quarrel with his kinsfolk injured.

13. In Uisneach's Land folk felt dislike for Lugh—they rued this afterwards!; the land was full of stress from their turmoils, ungentle was their rivalry and their clann-spirit.

14. O Prince of Dor, thou hadst the same experience as Lugh with regard to the folk of his mother (Sadhbh, dau. of Conn Céadchathach): all sages when treating of that folk (?) count not Lugh as King of Éire.

15. That was the unjust judgment that certain folk wished for thee, O Hero of Gabhrán; they did not like, I think, that thou be counted as ruling thy part of this share (?) of Breagha's Plain.

16. But thou shalt be so counted most gloriously, O Buttress of Cianochta; as Pádraig of the bright pens foretold thy fortune, we will leave no point of it unrecorded.

17. I will tell thee, O Prince of Eine, the tale of Pádraig's prophecy: as the future was revealed to him, he spoke no falsehood.

18. One day when Pádraig lay to rest at fair soft-grassed Ceall Fearta, the vision, so consoling to us, was given to his prophetic eye.

19. O Hero of fair Cluain, a wondrous tree appeared to him on the plain; the fruit finding place on it no branching wood could compare with it.

20. The Apostle of the men of Fál was full of wonder; every other wood came to that tree; the trees, leaving bare behind them the glens' bright slopes, surrounded it.

21. Pádraig, so winsome with pen, saw gatherers gathering fruit from its branches; flocks of birds from the whole world came to it, and yet its foliage grew no less and no thinner.

22. Pádraig of the golden pens, he who never spoke aught unjust, then awoke, telling the story of the tree, and he explained the point of his vision.

23. After telling his vision, Pádraig on the Place of Cime then spoke: "I will tell you exactly its meaning in true sequence (?)" said the priest.

24. "This tree I saw means the prince who will receive this land"; so spoke Pádraig to his folk, and God told him naught that he could not understand.

25. "This I say to thee, O joyous tree (i.e. hero): the woods which came to stand round that fruitful-branched tree are the hosts that came to stand around that prince; all races, methinks, shall be beneath his sway.

26. "The fruit pouring from the tree means wealth, the birds who seek it are the poets; by this one recognises the exacting bands, the men authorised to spend his wealth.

27. "The tree-top which thus got homage from the woods was the top of that fair long-branched tree, and the good progeny of that tree was the branches of its strong and coloured top."

28. That wonder-tree of plenteous fruit was thy father, O Branch of blue Cara ; O bright-hearted Dragon of Cé, that tree was thy father.

29. O famous Lion of Gáiridhe, O Prince of Calmhagh whom we extol, thou art a branch of that tree-top, thou art the man prophesied by the Adze-head.

30. O noble Mág Samhradháin, thou art the darling of Bréifne with its fair-flowered tableland, thou branch from the beautiful well-watered Land of Breagha, a branch taken from the noble trees of the Gaoidhil's Field.

31. Enough to raise up thy poets' hearts is thy battling, O prince who lovest hounds and . . . . (?) ; safe thou art against thy foe's haughty wrath, O thou whose face is bright and blushing beneath thy dark eyebrows.

32. Whenever the glance of a comely red-cloaked girl falls on thy fresh face, she takes on the red and white colours that are on thy cheeks, O great Tree of Gearg.

33. Thou hast dark lashes of black hair and a blue eye with streaks of green(?); thy bronze-coloured hair falls in ringlets over thy dark eye-lashes.

34. O loving Mág Samhradháin, O good Hero of Eamhain, thou hast—'tis certain—got from God supremacy in beauty and generous spirit.

35. Supremacy in war is thine, O Hero of Codhal ; thy hospitallers excel in lavishness ; victory in fight graces thy battalions—it makes every other host envy thee.

36. Splendour of treasures—I must mention them too—graces thee, and supreme praise is given thee for thy conduct ; unrivalled wealth for thy poets brought about thy troop's success.

37. O sweet-worded son of Brian, I can not tell half of thy generous deeds ; those precious treasures in thy hands, O Branch of Cluain,—the only love thou hadst for them was to give them away !

38. O white-skinned Tomás of Cruachain, O Mág Shamhradháin, so ready of speech, to thee belong all the hostages won by thy contending for the Land of Éile.

39. O Nualaidh of the curling ringleted locks, O helpmate ever eager to weld the land together, may God's Son defend thy spouse, thy children, thy fortune.

40. O stately daughter of Mág Uidhir, O wand of Breagha, white thou art of bosom and bright of smile, and so no blemish reddens thy bright face—I must tell this of thee(?)

41. May God loosen the blue links of thy chain, O Sitriug, son of curly-haired Brian ; that, O Griffin of Gáille, would be a good way to defend our land from plunder.

NOTES

Mag. MS. p. 33. 1. *b.* tigf. *c.* ill *d.* no. tr. 2b. fh. fh. fh. *c. leg* re n—i. ? *d.* ibhraigh 4b. coi. *c.* dres *d.* tadhbhail anuaingneas 5*b.* be m. ; ro thea ; *leg* rod thea ? *d.* an fu. 6*c.* manuar thear robh. *d.* bag (e *over* b) 7*a.* nos amh. *b.* sluaigh ; thecht mad *c.* ri tir. *d.* bais 8*b.* -rium *c.* ri 9*d. Leg.* t'áidh ? 10*b.* chul. 11d. ri ga. 12*a.* fhind *c.* bha 13*d.* na mbr. 14*a.* dor *b.* ri *c.* san dr. 15*a.* aisi sin *b.* -su ; ga 16*a.* as *b.* anafuil 18*b.* aenna la *d.* oigh 19*b.* -sea 20*a* fhail *b.* comh 21*a.* ar (*dot on* r) cnuas 22*d.* indes 23*a.* pa. phu. *d.* air sen cl. 24*c.* nir (dot *below*) ; nar (*dot over* n). *d.* pho. pa. 25*b.* cr. cr. *d.* tim. 26*a.* 1 cn. *d.* cha. 27*a.* eadhaibh *b.* gil ge. *c.* 1 chr. 28*b.* -siu *c.* dre. ce ; *leg.* ghloin ? 29*a* bairr *b.* glan ga. *c.* caillmhidhi is *d.* tairngire 30*b.* bfni (e *over* b), *leg.* Bréi. ? *c. Leg.* puirt ? 31*a.* cri. *b.* chailiallaich *d.* donn. 32*a.* an ; do dhr. noig *c.* aibhili *d.* -ebh 33*d.* dondmh. (*dot under* n). 34*b.* samh. *d.* dheighir 35*c.* ri *d.* comh. 37*a.* br. *c.* ri 38d. du dhe. 39*c.* choim cr. *d.* leter 40*a.* gil 41*b.* aisit. ; *leg.* a Shitriugmhac ? *c.* de

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF IRISHMEN IN FRANCE

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

Part XII

MacNamara, John, naval officer. Uncle of preceding and elder son of John MacNamara by Catherine St. John of Mortlestown, Co. Tipperary. Born in Co. Clare *circa* 1690, he accompanied his parents as a child to France, where he entered the naval service. Like his nephew he received rapid promotion and rose to the rank of Vice-Admiral. He obtained letters of recognition of nobility in 1736 from Louis XV, and for valour received later the Grand Cross of St. Louis. For some years before his death he was commandant of the Port of Rochefort, and he died in that town on 18 October 1756. He was married to Mary, daughter of John Stapleton of Thurles, Co. Tipperary. The latter was one of the more notable of the Irish colony at Nantes, where he had settled and where he was known as the " Seigneur de Dervallières." MacNamara's daughter, Julie, married M. de Turpin du Breuil, a naval officer and a Chevalier of Saint Louis.

Mac-Quillan, Peter, ecclesiastic. Born in the middle of the seventeenth century, he received his early scholastic training at the Dominican convent of Coleraine, Co. Derry. He continued his studies at the convent of Saint Honoré in Paris, where he became doctor of the Sorbonne and professor of theology and philosophy. Later he was appointed sub-prior at Rouen and, after some time in the French province, became prior at Louvain. He died at Paris in 1719 at the Dominican house near Saint Germain-en-Laye. He was author of *Dissertatio de Dolore Supernaturali in Sacramento Poenitentiae . . .*".

MacSheehy, Bernard (Brian), soldier. Son of John MacSheehy (*see* Mac Sheehy, John), scion of a renowned military family, which fought gallantly in Munster in alliance with the great Geraldine house through all its vicissitudes. He was born at Killarney in the first decade of the eighteenth century and, emigrating to France, became a captain in the FitzJames cavalry regiment of the Irish Brigade. He went through the various campaigns of the War of the Austrian Succession, and fought among others in the battles of Dettingen, Fontenoy and Lauffelt. He died in 1783 at an advanced age, leaving by his marriage with Honora O'Hehir four sons—Morgan, John (*see* Mac-Sheehy, John), Bernard and Patrice (*see* Mac-Sheehy, Patrice).

MacSheehy, Bernard (Brian), soldier. Son of Bernard MacSheehy and grandson of preceding. Born at Dublin in 1774, he went to the Irish College, Paris, for his education. In accordance with the decree of the National Convention in 1793 ordering the internment of all British subjects in France, he and other students of the Irish College were arrested in September of that year. On their offering to join the Revolutionary army, however, they were released by the Committee of Public Safety. In May 1794 MacSheehy was appointed interpreter on the staff of General Felix for the projected expedition to India; and in November 1796, after joining the staff of General Hoche, he was deputed to go to Ireland to report on conditions there as preparatory to the proposed invasion. His report contains an interesting account of the state of the country at the time. It is in the archives of the French Foreign Office (*Mémoires et Documents*, Tome 53) and is entitled "Journal du voyage fait par le Citoyen MacSheehy Capitaine . . . envoyé en Irlande pour traiter avec les patriotes de cette Ile sur les moyens proposés à la bonne réception des Francais."). In 1798 he accompanied the French army to Egypt and on the way raised at Malta the Maltese Legion, which was incorporated in the expeditionary force. In 1803 he organised the Irish Legion and became its adjutant-general. In the archives of the French War Office there are several letters from him in 1804 to General Augereau and to Berthier, Minister of War, regarding the proposed expedition to Ireland. As a result of a fatal duel between two officers of the Irish Legion (Sweeny and Corbet), in which he was involved, he left that corps and was employed on the staff of the Grand Army. In it he held the rank of colonel and was aide-de-camp of Napoleon, beside whose person he was killed by a cannon ball at the battle of Eylau in 1807. The De La Ponce MSS. describe him as "a brave officer with military talents of the first order, a vast erudition, and capable of speaking and writing several languages."

MacSheehy, John, soldier. Born at Cork in 1684. As a boy he came to France with his father, who had fought in the Jacobite campaign. Entering the French army, he acted as engineer officer under Colonel Andrew Lee in a French corps at the reduction of the Fort of Kehl in Germany in 1703 during the War of the Spanish Succession. He was one of the Irish officers ordered by Louis XIV to proceed to Dunkirk in 1709 with a view to a Jacobite invasion of Scotland. Retiring from active service in 1741, he was admitted into the Hôtel des Invalides where he died soon afterwards.

MacSheehy, John, physician. Born at Killarney on 4 July 1745. Son of Bernard MacSheehy (officer in FitzJames Irish regiment) and Honora O'Hehir, and uncle of Bernard MacSheehy, adjutant-general of the Irish Legion. Going to Paris he pursued there a course of medical studies and attained much eminence in his profession. He was "premier

médecin" to Louis XVI, a "conseiller du roi" and a "Chevalier de l'ordre du roi (St. Michel)". He died in 1815. By his marriage with Gabrielle Ballet du Boyes (celebrated at the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois at Paris on 20 August 1782) he was father of John Bernard Louis MacSheehy (*see* following) and of Patrice Maurice MacSheehy. The latter, an officer of the French marine service, was killed at Trafalgar in 1805.

MacSheehy, John Bernard Louis, soldier and publicist. Son of preceding he was born at Paris on 4 December 1783. While a child his name was entered on the roll of Dillon's Irish regiment, and during his minority he was enrolled in the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. In 1802 he joined as lieutenant the 10th company of the "Chasseurs à Cheval" and two years later was captain in the Army of the West. He fought at Austerlitz in 1805 and went through the campaigns of Prussia (1805) and Poland (1806). He received a lance wound and three sabre wounds at the battle of Eylau in 1807, where his cousin adjutant-general Bernard MacSheehy was killed, and in 1809 he was injured by a bullet at the battle of Tann in the Austrian campaign. In 1812 he passed to the Army of Spain, and fought in the Peninsular War till the peace of 1814. He continued in the army under the Restoration, went through the Spanish campaign of 1823, and retired from active service in 1834 with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Altogether this gallant Irish officer went through twelve campaigns during which he was wounded six times. Many honours were conferred on him for his valour and efficiency: he was made a Chevalier of the Military Order of Poland, a member of the Legion of Honour, Chevalier of the Empire in 1809 after the battle of Wagram, Officer of the Legion of Honour and Officer of St. Louis.

After his retirement from the army he was preoccupied with journalism and became editor and proprietor of the legitimist journal "L'Union" For some years, too, after retirement he was superintendent of the *archives de la guerre*. At this period he was interested in Irish affairs, and a long article advocating the cause of Irish independence was contributed by him to "The Nation" (Dublin) in its issue of 7 July 1860. He died at Paris on 24 July 1867. He was author of the following, among other, works: "Etude sur les Kosacks" (Paris 1807), "Relation de la campagne de 1813 en Saxe" (Paris 1814), "Livret théorique et pratique sur le service de la cavalerie legère en campagne" (Paris 1820), "Oeuvre de la compassion" (Paris 1858).

MacSheehy, Patrice, soldier. Born in 1741 at Killarney. Son of Bernard MacSheehy (officer in FitzJames regiment) and Honora O'Hehir, and brother of Dr. John MacSheehy. Emigrating to France he became an officer of Dillon's regiment and, during the American War of Independence, accompanied that corps across the Atlantic to assist the

Americans. On the 3 July 1779 the island of Grenada, an English possession, was attacked by two thousand men, mostly Irish, commanded by Colonel Arthur Dillon. Its English garrison retired to a steep height known as "Morne de l'Hôpital," which at midnight was attacked by the Irish force. A furious fight followed which resulted in an overwhelming defeat of the English garrison that later surrendered. MacSheehy was mortally wounded by a cannon ball towards the end of the fighting. As he lay dying, he asked "Is the Morne captured?" and on being informed that it was he replied: "I die happy" and almost immediately expired. Major Browne of Dillon's regiment, a relative of the dead officer, wrote to a friend: "The unfortunate Patrice was killed, but lived long enough to witness his comrades' victory: no one faced death with more courage and gaiety, and never was an officer more regretted."

A namesake and relative, Captain Patrice MacSheehy, was completing his studies at Paris when the Revolution broke out. He returned to Ireland, where he was employed as a tutor to wealthy Catholic families. In 1798 he was professor of French at an academy in Gorey, and was one of the yeomen cavalry of the district during the Insurrection. A few years later he obtained through the influence of his cousin, adjutant-general MacSheehy, a commission as captain in the Irish Legion. He was however found unfit for a military career and he retired on pension into private life.

Madgett, Nicholas, French official and United Irishman. Born at Kinsale, Co. Cork, in 1740, he was educated at Paris where he became an official in the French Foreign Office. In that capacity he laboured all his life to achieve the independence of Ireland with the aid of France. From the outbreak of the Revolution he was preoccupied with negotiations between the French government and the United Irish leaders for a French invasion of Ireland. Thus in 1794 he gave the Rev. William Jackson (the emissary to Ireland from the Committee of Public Safety) his instructions before leaving Paris for Dublin. While Jackson was in Newgate prison and his execution seemed certain, he wrote to Madgett informing him that he was about to lose his life in the cause of liberty and requesting him to procure assistance from the French nation for his wife. When Wolfe Tone arrived in Paris he was told by De La Croix, the French Foreign Minister, to speak without reserve to Madgett. Many of Tone's memorials to the Directory were translated into French by Madgett, continuous references to whom in the Irish patriot's autobiography readers of that book will remember. The informer Samuel Turner, in his correspondence with Castlereagh, states that Madgett was "one of the most active instruments of the French Directory in everything that respects Ireland." In "Lettres officielles et confidentielles de Napoléon Bonaparte" (Vol. III) there is a memo. signed by Madgett and addressed to De La Croix, informing that minister that George III had funds in

the Bank of Venice amounting to £10,000,000 sterling and requesting him to represent to Bonaparte the importance of seizing them. Madgett's name is frequently met in the archives of the French Foreign Office, where he is described as "chef du bureau de traduction". As such he writes in March 1793 to Le Brun the Foreign Minister calling attention to the measures the English government is taking to prevent the spread of what is called " the French epidemic " and stating that he had reason to know that there is an English espionage committee in Paris. In the same letter he suggests that emissaries should be sent to Ireland to spread the doctrines of the Revolution. His name occurs sometimes too in the Castlereagh Correspondence. Thus under the heading " Secret information relative to Ireland " an English agent in France writes : " There is in Paris a person whom I believe I have not mentioned to you ; his name is Madgett, who appeared in part of the correspondence on Jackson's trial." After the failure of the Irish expeditions Madgett's political activities ceased, and he was preoccupied with his official duties at the French Foreign Office till his death.

Another Nicholas Madgett, his cousin, is frequently confounded with the Irish patriot (*see* following). Their uncle, also of the same name, was bishop of Kerry. The family seems now to be extinct. Their ancient patrimony was in the barony of Corcaguiny, among whose papist proprietors the name of Nicholas Madgett appears in the Civil Survey of 1656.

MADGETT, NICHOLAS, ecclesiastic and English agent. Cousin of preceding. Born near Tralee, Co. Kerry, in 1758. He came to Paris in 1770 and was educated at the College of St. Barbe, of which his uncle had been president. After ordination as a priest he obtained a benefice near Bordeaux and later, from 1784 to 1788, was chaplain to Count James Fanning, a native of Limerick, who had purchased the château of Roche-Talbot near Sablé. (In 1776 Louis XVI admitted Fanning into the ranks of the French nobility). In 1788 Madgett was appointed curé of Blaignon near Bordeaux, where he functioned till the outbreak of the Revolution. Refusing to take the oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, he lived in Paris for some time, after which he proceeded to London. While in the English capital he became attached to the British secret service, and in 1794 arrived back in Paris under the name of Hurst. Arrested soon afterwards as a spy, he was imprisoned for some time. In 1795 he again posed in Paris as an American merchant under the name of Burus and was arrested in May of that year as a dangerous intriguer. His case was discussed at the National Convention, where a deputy stated that Madgett spied on and persecuted Irish patriots in Dublin. Sent before a military commission at Paris in July 1795, he escaped from prison. In the following year he appeared in the south of Ireland and vehemently denounced there the French Revolution and the United Irish movement. In the Irish State Paper Office there are several letters from him at this period which

show his activities in his nefarious occupation, while in the English State Paper Office there are receipts for various sums of money received by him out of secret service funds. After the Revolution he settled again in France as curé of Civrac, where he functioned till his death.

His uncle and namesake, Dr. Nicholas Madgett, was president of the college of St. Barbe in Paris, where he had been educated. While in France he was prominent in the controversies regarding Jansenism, of which he was a strong opponent. In July 1732, while a student at St. Barbe, he presented a thesis to the Sorbonne concerning the Bull " Unigenitus ", which was denounced as dangerous by a zealous magistrate to the Parliament of Paris. In the following year another thesis of Madgett's was stopped by order of the Chancellor who took exception to its views on Papal Infallibility. Both theses, it was said, were not in keeping with the liberties of the Gallican Church. Returning to Ireland, Dr. Madgett was appointed bishop of Kerry in 1753 and he died at Tralee in 1774.

Magennis, Roger, soldier. Son of Hugh Magennis (2nd Viscount Iveagh) and Rose O'Neill. Like several of his kinsmen who became officers in the French service, he was educated at the Collège des Grassins at Paris. (The Stuart MSS. record Eiver Magennis as superior in 1702 of the Collège des Grassins—a priest " whose family suffered much in the last Revolution for their religion and loyalty "). After fighting through the Jacobite war in Ireland he went to France, where he was an officer at first in Lee's and later in Dillon's regiment. He left the French for the Spanish service and died in Spain in 1709. In that country he assumed the title of 5th Viscount Iveagh. In August 1701 he married Jane, daughter of Colonel Gordon O'Neill, at the church of St. Jacques du Haut Pas at Paris. With the death of his eldest brother Bernard (Brian), 3rd Viscount Iveagh, the peerage, according to English law, became extinct. But the title is borne to the present day in Spain by the descendants of Roger Magennis the 5th Viscount.

A considerable number of representatives of various branches of this illustrious family were in Irish regiments of the French army throughout the eighteenth century. Thus Bernard (Brian) Magennis, Colonel of Dragoons in the regiment of Charlemont, fought gallantly in the War of the Spanish Succession and was killed at the battle of Spire in 1703. He was the father of four sons, officers of the Irish Brigade, all of whom died in the service of France. The family, through its female line, contracted alliances with notable houses on the continent. Prince Francis Justiniani, for example, head of his house in France, was married on 1 September 1746 to Marie Rose Magennis at the church of St. Sulpice in Paris.

Maginn, Patrick, ecclesiastic. A native of Co. Down where he was born in the early years of the seventeenth century. He was educated in Paris and there took his degree of doctor of the Sorbonne. He helped,

with the co-operation of Father Malachy Kelly (*see* KELLY, MALACHY) to lay the foundations of an Irish seminary at Paris. The Collège des Lombards was mainly through his exertions transferred to Irish ownership in 1677. He and Malachy Kelly at their own expense reconstructed the building, which soon became the centre of the Irish colony at Paris. His influence at the French court, where he was well known, was a considerable asset to him in this work. He acted for some time as abbot of Thuley in the diocese of Langres and as almoner of Catherine, wife of Charles II of England. An official despatch of Abbate Agretti in 1669 refers to him, under the name of Ghineo, as follows : " Patrick Ghineo, one of the Queen's principal chaplains, is in great favour with the King. He is of exemplary character and of ' gran bonta ', but is not capable of managing affairs well or of guarding a secret. He is chiefly useful in procuring access to his Majesty and in conveying a message to him. The King willingly listens to Ghineo, in whom he places complete trust."

Dr. Maginn died at Paris on 16 April 1683. The memorial tablet over his grave in the Collège des Lombards was removed some years ago to the Irish College. By his will of July 1682 he bequeathed a sum of 10,000 livres for the general benefit of the institution he had done so much to establish ; and he left a bursary of 2,500 livres for the education at the university of Paris of a certain number of young men, natives of Ulster, who were to be chosen, for preference, from the members of named families.

MAGUIRE, ALEXANDER (BARON OF ENNISKILLEN), soldier. Born at Newport in Ireland on 25 December 1721. Son of Theophilus Maguire and Margaret O'Donnell. In 1740 he entered Berwick's regiment in the French service and was transferred to Lally's in 1744. As captain he fought in that corps at Fontenoy in the following year and at Lauffelt two years later. He accompanied General Count Thomas Lally in 1757 to India, where he distinguished himself in the campaign against the English. He retired temporarily on half-pay in 1763, and on the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 was pensioned. He was the last of his name in France to bear the title of Baron of Enniskillen.

His kinsman Roger Maguire, acknowledged by James II as fifth Baron, accompanied James II to France after the attainder of his estate ; but, having no regiment there, he retired to Saint Germain-en-Laye where he died. (The following notice in the *Gazette de France* in its issue of 10 November 1708 tells of his death : " M. Roger Maguire, Baron d'Inniskillen, Peer of Ireland, died at St. Germain-en-Laye on 27th of last month, aged 67 years. He was Chief of his family and very distinguished for his attachment to the Catholic religion and to the interests of the King of Great Britain, James III, and of his country in all the revolutions ").

Mahony—*see* O'Mahony. Mannery—*see* Mac-Enery. Massereene, Earl of—*see* Skeffington.

M'Cabe, William Putnam, United Irishman. Born at Belfast in 1776. Son of Thomas McCabe, a merchant of that city. As an active organiser of the United Irish organisation he went through many vicissitudes and escaped from Ireland in 1799. In 1803 he established a cotton mill at Hulme near Rouen in partnership with Philip Long, the Dublin merchant who largely helped to finance the attempted insurrection of Robert Emmet. M'Cabe's factory was visited by Napoleon who, seeing in the project a practical example of his own schemes to exclude English manufactures from the continent, endowed it with a gift of 4,000 francs. The venture, however, was not successful and was sold in 1806. M'Cabe invested part of the proceeds in a mortgage on the Irish estates of Arthur O'Connor, the United Irish leader who was then living in exile in France. After the Bourbon restoration in 1815 this transaction led to much litigation in the French and Irish courts with O'Connor, who was eventually ordered to refund 135,000 francs. M'Cabe, who became a convert to Catholicism before his death, died at Paris in 1821. Some of his acquaintances doubted the sincerity of his patriotism.

Mehegan (Meehan), James Antony (Count), soldier. Son of Chevalier O'Mehegan, Commandant of La Salle in Cevennes. Born at La Salle in the diocese of d'Alais in 1719, he entered the army, in which he had a career of distinction and particularly distinguished himself during the Seven Years War as colonel of a regiment of dragoons. In August 1759, closed up in Minden after the battle there, he refused to sign the terms of capitulation, which were accepted by the other members of the war council, and he proposed to break through the enemy troops which held the besieged town. His proposal was rejected because the commanding officer did not wish to lose the equipment. Louis XV, on hearing of his conduct, placed him at the head of the regiment of Royal Grenadiers and conferred on him the title of count. He died in 1792 with the rank of maréchal de camp.

Mehegan, William Alexander (Chevalier), writer. Brother of preceding and born like him at La Salle in 1721. When quite young he devoted himself to literature and gained high repute as a versatile writer. He became especially notable for the style of his works, which was marked by a wealth of imagery that gave them a tiresome brilliancy, while his conversation was so ornate that it appeared to be studied and artificial. In 1751 he was appointed professor of French literature at the university of Copenhagen, a post which he held for five years. On his return to France in 1756 he became one of the editors of the *Journal Encyclopédique* and a contributor to the *Dictionnaire Moreri*. In 1754 there appeared at Paris from his pen "Zoroastre" ("histoire traduite du Chaldéen")—a work which, on

count of the opinions expressed in it, brought on him severe criticism om Freron, the famous French critic, and which led to his being sent to e Bastille for some time. His chief title to literary eminence was his Tableau de l'histoire moderne" (Paris 1766)—a philosophical analysis the moral effect of the events with which it deals. On its appearance it ive rise, like most of his writings, to much adverse criticism.

Mehegan died at Paris on 1 January 1766. Among his other works are: Considérations sur les Revolutions des Arts" (Paris 1755), "Histoire e la Marquise de Terville" (Paris 1756), "Lettres d'Aspasie" (Amsterdam 756), "Lettres sur l'éducation des Femmes" (St. Omer 1758).

MESSINGHAM, THOMAS, ecclesiastic and writer. A native of Co. Meath, here he was born *circa* 1575. He was educated at Paris and obtained iere the doctorate of the Sorbonne. After ordination as a priest he became rotonotary apostolic and superior of the Irish College, succeeding the ev. John Lee in the latter office. It was chiefly through the labours of r. Messingham that the college became a seminary affiliated to the niversity of Paris in 1624. In 1632 he was appointed Proctor (Procurator) f the German Nation in the university. While in the French capital he as a friend and co-worker of the illustrious Bishop Rothe.

In 1624 Messingham published a small folio volume in Latin, "Florigium insulae sanctorum" (Paris), containing the lives of many Irish ints. Part of it was translated into English and appeared as a separate olume—it is entitled "A brief History of St. Patrick's Purgatory and its ilgrimage . . . written in Latin by the Reverend Thomas Messingham, rmerly superior of the Irish Seminary at Paris" (Paris 1718). He was lso author of "Officia SS. Patritii, Columbae, Brigidae et aliorum quorunam Hiberniae Sanctorum" (Paris 1620).

MOLONY, *see* O'MOLONY.

MOORE, MICHAEL, ecclesiastic. Born in 1640 at Bridge Street, Dublin. on of Patrick Moore, merchant, and Mary Dowdall. He began his cclesiastical studies in the Irish College at Nantes and, after some years, roceeded to Paris where he completed them. His appointment to the hair of philosophy in the Collège des Grassins, one of the ancient colleges f the university, soon followed. He spent ten years in this post, after which, hrough the patronage of Cardinal Noailles, he became professor of Latin nd Greek at the Collège de Navarre. In 1677 he was elected Rector of the niversity of Paris, but declined the honour. He visited Ireland in 1688 when Richard Talbot, Earl of Tirconnell, appointed him to the Provostship of Trinity College—he was the only Catholic who ever filled that ffice. While acting as such he helped to save the library of the College uring the troubles of the Jacobite war. A bronze tablet to his memory as placed in the library in 1936. He was compelled to leave Ireland by

reason of a sermon which he delivered in Christ Church and which contained some expressions of opinion that gave offence to James II who was among his listeners. Returning to Paris, Dr. Moore was elected to the office of Rector of the university in 1701 and was selected to deliver the annual panegyric, founded by the City of Paris, on Louis XIV. Vacating the position of Rector of the university which he held for one year, he was then appointed Rector of the Collège de Navarre. At this period he showed himself an ardent opponent of Jansenism, though a contemporary document in the Stuart MSS. (Vol. VI) describes him as a person suspected of that heresy who was twice forced to abjure it. He took a keen and practical interest in the Irish College at Paris, which he helped to improve and extend. Some years before his death he became blind and, for the purpose of reading to him daily, he employed an amanuensis. This individual stole several hundred volumes from his library, the remainder of which Dr. Moore bequeathed to the Irish College. He died at the College of Navarre on 22 August 1726 and, in accordance with his wishes, was buried in the chapel of the Irish College. In the church of St. Etienne du Mont, close to the College, there is a tablet to his memory. A profound Greek scholar and philosopher of the old school, Moore is regarded as the most distinguished Irish Catholic savant of the seventeenth century. He was author of the following works: "De existentia Dei . . ." (Paris 1692), "Hortatio ad studium linguae Graecae et Hebraicae" (Montefiascone 1700), "Vera sciendi methodus" (Paris 1712).

Moriarty, Maurice, physician. Son of Maximilian (Murtough) Moriarty of Castledrum, Co. Kerry, whose wife was Honora MacNamara of Clare. Born in the last decade of the seventeenth century, he was educated at Paris and pursued there a course of medical studies. He settled in the town of Ecart in Britanny, where he practised his profession during the earlier half of the eighteenth century and where he married Madeleine de Coetlogen, who belonged to a notable family of the district. In 1724 he applied for letters of nobility to James Terry, Athlone Herald of James II at Saint Germain-en-Laye. (The Jacobite genealogist subsequently complained that he had not received the eighty livres agreed upon for that work).

A kinsman, Captain Moriarty, was wounded at Fontenoy in 1745 and there were various other relatives in the French service during the eighteenth century. A descendant, Dr. Moriarty, was imprisoned in Paris where he resided, during the Reign of Terror (Sept. 1793).

Morres, Hervey Montmorency, soldier and author. Born on 8 March 1767 at Rathailean Castle, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary. Son of Matthew Morres and Margaret Magan of Emo, Co. Westmeath. As a boy he accompanied to the continent his father's kinsman, General Count Edward Dalton of the Austrian army, and entered Lacy's regiment. In the Turkish

war he saw service under Field-Marshal Lacy, and later he fought in the campaign against the armies of Revolutionary France. Leaving the Austrian army in 1795 he returned to Ireland, settled in the ancestral estate in Co. Tipperary and became a member of the United Irish Society. An intimate friend of Lord Edward FitzGerald, he was very active in spreading that organisation. Immediately before the outbreak of the Insurrection of 1798 he was deputed to lead the insurgent attack on Dublin and to capture the Magazine Fort in the Phoenix Park. After its failure he went to Westmeath where, on Humbert's landing at Killala with a small expeditionary force, he seems to have impressed on the local United Irishmen the hopelessness of the enterprise. Subsequent to the collapse at Ballinamuck he escaped to Hamburg. He was arrested in that city and imprisoned in Kilmainham gaol for three years. On his release he went to France where, on the advice of General Henry Clarke, Duke of Feltre, he entered the army. He was appointed adjutant-general with the rank of colonel under Napoleon, and was made a member of the Legion of Honour on the staff of General Augereau. After the Bourbon restoration he retired from active service and devoted his time almost entirely to literary pursuits. He died at Saint Germain-en-Laye on 9 May 1839. Three of his sons became officers in the Austrian service, while a daughter became maid-of-honour to Queen Caroline of Bavaria.

An authority on Irish topography, he wrote " Nomenclatura Hibernica " (Dublin 1810). Among his other works are : " A Genealogical Memoir of the family of Montmorency " (Paris 1818), " Les Montmorency de France et les Montmorency d'Irlande " (Paris 1828), " A historical inquiry into the Irish Pillar Tower ", " Reflections on the Veto ". His genealogical works are untrustworthy.

Several of his relatives were also in the French service. Sir Nicholas Morres of Knockagh, Co. Tipperary, entered Bulkeley's Irish regiment, rose to the rank of Brigadier-General and was a knight of St. Louis. He died at the Château d'Amboise in Touraine in 1795. Colonel Richard Morres, a brother of Sir Nicholas, was also in the French army. He was killed in 1774 by the falling of a scaffold.

MOYLAN, FRANCIS, ecclesiastic. Born on 17 September 1775 at Cork, where his father was a merchant. He was educated at first in Paris, later in the university of Montpellier, and from the latter place he went to the Irish college and university of Toulouse. At Toulouse he became acquainted with the abbé Edgeworth, who was then a boy living there with his family. He and Edgeworth became life-long friends, and both went together to finish their studies at Paris. After his ordination as a priest in 1761, Dr. Moylan was appointed by Monsignor de Beaumont, archbishop of Paris, to a curacy at Chatou a few miles outside the French capital. After some years he returned to Ireland and became bishop of Cork in 1786. He died on 10 February 1815.

RICHARD HAYES

JOHN FIELD*

BY MAIRE KELLY

DUBLIN has seldom failed to influence, in some measure, the history of learning and culture. This is especially true of our city in the eighteenth century; and among the many famous men whom Dublin produced during this period, perhaps not least in importance were its musicians. In view of this fact it may not be inappropriate to recall a few interesting musical events of the time. Besides the frequent visits made by such distinguished people as Handel, who gave the first performance of the *Messiah* in Fishamble Street in 1742, and Dr. and Mrs. Arne, who produced many operas in Dublin, there was a continuous stream of local talent. Of the vocalists one might mention Daniel Sullivan, a Dublin man whom Handel selected to sing in his oratorios in London in 1744; Michael Kelly, born 1762, whose greatest triumph was his being chosen by Mozart to sing in the first performance of the " Marriage of Figaro," May 1st, 1786; and Tom Cooke, born 1781, famous boy soprano, who subsequently became chief singer in Drury Lane, a post which he held for twenty years. There were also many child prodigies and some brilliant instrumentalists, both of the violin and piano, whose names are now forgotten. Forgotten also are the names of the Dublin musical inventors—such as Charles Claggett, who took the first step towards developing valved wind instruments, an invention now credited to Germany; and William Southwell, who is believed to have sold his invention of the Double Action Harp to Erard in 1807. It is interesting to note that at Fishamble Street Theatre, on May 19, 1768, the piano made its first appearance on the Dublin stage, when according to report there was given "a lesson on that much admired instrument called the Forte Piano." In London the first public performance on the pianoforte did not occur until June 2nd of the same year. Finally, to bear further witness to the flourishing state of music in eighteenth century Dublin, one finds several musical societies, two theatres where operas, musical plays and burlettas were frequently produced, twelve music shops, eight harpiscord and piano manufacturers, who were also music publishers, as well as makers of various other instruments.

Into this carefree, gay city of pre-Union days John Field was born on the 26 July 1782. He was baptised in St. Werburgh's, the entry in the Register of Births being as follows : " Sept. 30th, John, son of Robert and Grace Field, Golden Lane." His father, Robert Field, was a violinist in the Theatre Royal, Crow Street, and his grandfather, John Field, was an organist in one of the city churches. Both father and grandfather carried on a music school in the house where the family lived in Golden Lane, which in those days was quite a respectable locality. The Fields were

* Paper read before the Old Dublin Society on February 7, 1944.

lescended from a family of Huguenots who fled from France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The name was originally " de la Field," but the prefix was dropped in the course of time.

Surrounded by music from his earliest years, it was no wonder that he young John soon showed a marked taste for the pianoforte. His first essons were received from his grandfather, while his father looked after his practice. Having heard, no doubt, of the early fame acquired by Mozart and Beethoven, the parents seem to have determined, from the very beginning, to make an infant prodigy of the boy. He was forced to practise continuously, and the rod was not spared. In fact, the discipline was so severe that the lad ran away from home ; but the small resources he had procured were soon spent, and necessity drove him back to face the music.

Having acquired the fundamentals, John Field was sent, at the age of nine, to Tommaso Giordani, an Italian who had brought an opera company to Dublin in 1762. Giordani was so pleased with Dublin that he remained in it for some years as Conductor of State Music. He was an understanding teacher, and under him Field progressed so well that he made his début at the first of Giordani's Spiritual Concerts at the Rotunda in 1792. In the *Freeman's Journal* of 22nd-24th March, the concert was billed as follows :—

Signor Giordani's First Spiritual Concert
will be this present Saturday, the 24th March, 1792.
Act the First.

New Overture	*Haydn*
Song by Mr. Weyman	*Handell*
Quartetto by the Musical Children	*Pleyel*
Song by Mr. Small	*Paefiello*

Madam Kumpholtz's difficult Pedal Harp Concerto on the Grand Piano Forte by Master Field—a child of 8 years of age. . . . . .

Tickets at 7 British shillings each to be had of Signor Giordani at his house, No. 9 Pitt Street, and all the music shops. To begin at 8 o'clock.

Field was received with great enthusiasm ; for the announcement of the second concert, which took place on April 4th, describes him as " the much admired Master Field ". He also appeared in the last of these concerts on April 14th, when he was again warmly applauded. Besides his pianistic skill, Field also manifested his ability for composition at an early age. While still in Dublin, he published an arrangement with variations of the old Munster tune, " Go to the devil and shake yourself," and he composed Rondos for piano on two of Giordani's songs : " Since then I'm doomed " and " Slave, bear the sparkling goblet around."

In 1793 Field's father was invited to become leader of the orchestra

at Bath, a post which he accepted; so John bade farewell to Dublin at the age of eleven and did not return again. Later the same year Robert Field was offered an engagement as violinist in the Haymarket Theatre, London; so the family moved to that city. Here the boy was apprenticed for a hundred guineas to Muzio Clementi, an Italian born in Rome in 1752 and a famous pianist and manufacturer of pianos. At this time Clementi took only professional pupils, and the large fee which Robert paid was a great sacrifice, but he wished his son to have the best teacher. The boy also studied the violin under Pinto, who dedicated a piano sonato "to my friend John Field".

In May 1794, Field gave his first performance in London, when he played one of Clementi's Sonatas at a Barthélemon Concert. Haydn, Dussek and Cramer, who were present, predicted a great future for him. Clementi was very pleased with his pupil, who worked untiringly and progressed rapidly; but Field was kept most of his time in the warehouse showing off Clementi's pianos to prospective purchasers. In other respects, too, Clementi seems to have neglected the boy. Field himself alleges that his master failed to furnish him with proper food and clothing. He often had to stay in the house for weeks at a time for lack of a hat, while Clementi received large fees for the discharge of duties entrusted to his pupil. Yet Field remained in his employment for many years, notwithstanding the numerous vicissitudes of fortune experienced by the piano establishment; and in spite of Clementi's parsimoniousness, a strong bond of friendship and attachment grew up between master and pupil. Clementi, who recognised and appreciated Field's talent, was always glad to give him a helping hand.

Field's first important London success was at a Pinto Benefit Concert, February 7, 1799. He played a concerto of his own specially composed for the occasion. The *Morning Chronicle* of February 9th, commenting on this concert, said: "The chief source of admiration in the course of the evening was a concerto on the Grand Forte Piano by Master Field, a pupil of Clementi's. This young gentleman, though only eighteen years of age, has been esteemed by the best judges one of the finest performers in the kingdom." Parke in his musical memoirs is less flattering. He says: "Mr. Field played a concerto on the pianoforte which was more remarkable for rapidity than expression"; but Parke also calls Mozart's Requiem "a composition of infinite science and dulness." Another interesting appearance made by Field in London was at the Oratorio Concert held in Covent Garden Theatre on February 20, 1801, when he played between the acts of some works by Mozart and Handel. His performance of his own concerto created a great impression. About this time he composed three sonatas—in A, E♭ and C minor—which were published in London by Clementi at the latter's expense.

On December 9th in the same year the firm of Clementi, writing to

heir colleague, Pleyel, in Paris about some new works ready for publication, tated : " Of particular interest there are some new compositions of Field . . . . a very promising genius and already become a great favourite n this country both in respect of composition and performance. It is ikely you will soon see him in Paris." About this time Clementi had lecided upon making a tour of Europe, taking Field with him for the ourpose of helping to sell the pianos rather than of exhibiting his virtuosity. Accordingly, in 1802, Clementi and his pupil set out for Paris, where Field gave many concerts and astonished all who heard him by the brilliancy and finish of his playing. From Paris they went to Vienna, where Field triumphed in the same way. It was then settled that the young pianist should stay in this city, the home of music, in order to study counterpoint ; but when he saw Clementi ready to depart for Russia, Field begged to be allowed to go with him. His wish was granted, and at the end of the year 1802 the two musicians arrived in St. Petersburg, where Clementi opened a showroom for the sale of his firm's pianos.

Here in St. Petersburg the parsimonious qualities of Clementi again manifested themselves. He kept Field in the shop to play his instruments to the best advantage, and left him to freeze in the solitary chamber without a fur-lined coat, an indispensable garment in Russia during the winter. Spohr, the German musician, in his Autobiography gives an interesting account of his meeting with Field and Clementi : " Occasionally, in the evening, I used to accompany him [Clementi] to his great piano warehouse, where Field used often have to play for hours, in order to let the customers hear the instruments at their best . . . . I retain still, in my memory, a picture of the pale overgrown youth whom I never saw again. Field at this time was growing out of his clothes, and when he sat down before the piano and stretched his long arms towards the keyboard, his sleeves contracted almost to his elbows, and the whole figure looked very English and very awkward ; but no sooner had he begun his inspired playing than all this was forgotten, and one could do nought but listen intently . . . . Even at that time many tales were told of the notorious meanness of the rich Clementi . . . . I myself once saw some proof of the very Italian parsimony of Clementi ; for one day I found master and pupil, with their shirt sleeves rolled up, busy at the wash tub washing their socks and other garments. They would not be disturbed, and Clementi advised me to do likewise, because not only was laundering in St. Petersburg very expensive ; but, on account of their bad methods of washing there, it was injurious."

Field, however, seems to have taken to Russia from the very first, for he remained there when Clementi returned to England in 1803. He was soon in frequent request as teacher and virtuoso and made a great name for himself. He played at many concerts which were highly remunerative, and his lessons were much sought after and extraordinarily well paid. His pupils, many of whom belonged to the aristocracy, flocked

from all parts of the Russian Empire, that they might be said to have been taught by Field. He soon acquired proficiency in speaking French, German, and Russian; and it was not long before he earned a substantial fortune. When Clementi returned a year later, in 1804, he found his former pupil well established on the road to success. During this period Field wrote some of his larger works, including a piano concerto and a piano quintet which Clementi exchanged with him for a grand piano in 1807.

But unfortunately for Field and his music, wealth, luxury and fame seem to have affected him for the worse. Being such a favourite in Russian musical circles, he became indolent and improvident and took to drink and dissipation—vices which greatly undermined his health. He lived a true Bohemian life, often neglecting his pupils and his compositions. According to Moscheles he went to sleep whilst giving lessons to the ladies of St. Petersburg, so that they would often rouse him with the question: "What does one pay twenty roubles an hour for, if you go to sleep?" When considering this defect in the character of Field, it must not be forgotten that he was of a tender and weak constitution, that he does not appear to have ever gone to school, that in his home life he was subjected to iron discipline, while the years spent under Clementi were not of the type to be recalled with pleasure. Thus his life up to the time when he was left alone in St. Petersburg, without relation or friend, was never very easy or pleasant. Perhaps, then, his sheltered youth and harsh experiences may in some measure account for the fact that he lost his balance when fame and wealth came his way. To complicate matters, he married, in 1808, a French actress named Mademoiselle Percheron. In March 1810 he and his wife took part in a concert at Moscow for the benefit of the Orchestra of the Imperial Theatre. But ill-luck attended this marriage from the outset. The couple lived together for only five years and were separated in 1813.

Composition, however, was not altogether neglected by Field at this period. In 1812 he had composed a Grand Triumphal March in honour of the victories of General Count de Witgenstein. This was followed by some minor works, and in 1814 appeared his first three Nocturnes, a Piano Sonata, and some concertos. He also wrote a Rondo Ecossais founded on an air called "Speed the Plough". This tune is often called "Air écossais" or "Scotch Air" from its supposed Scotch origin; but it was undoubtedly composed by John Moorhead of Dublin, as a dance in the musical show "Naval Pillar" produced at Covent Garden Theatre on October 7, 1793. Again, in 1794, it was introduced into Morton's comedy "Speed the Plough," from which the tune derived its name.

Field gave many concerts in St. Petersburg, and his reputation as a teacher was very great. Among his friends were Steibelt the musician, Charles Mayer the celebrated pianist composer, and Dr. Quinlan (of

Templeorum, Co. Kilkenny), head physician of the Royal Hospital at Moscow, where he died in 1827. Perhaps his best known pupil was Michael Glinka, founder of the Russian School of Music. At the time of Glinka's arrival in Petrograd the leading pianist in the capital was " Russian Field," as he is often called ; and Michael's parents, who were determined to do their best for the boy, arranged that he should be taught by the distinguished Irishman. Glinka, in his memoirs, writes of his Irish master : " Field's playing was at once sweet and strong, and characterised by admirable precision. His fingers fell on the keys as large drops of rain, that spread themselves like iridescent pearls. Here let me say, and I am sure that my opinion is shared by many who have heard Field, that I do not share the view of Liszt, who told me on one occasion that he found the playing of Field sleepy; on the contrary, it was strong, capricious and improvised. In particular he never descended to Charlatanism to produce his effects."

Field's Concerto No. 5, known as " L'incendie par l'orage " (called in English "the Storm Concerto "), appeared in 1817 and was soon heard and admired all over Europe. This year also he wrote his Nocturnes Nos. 4 and 5. The former in A major is one of the most beautiful pieces of its kind ever written and is the finest of Field's Nocturnes. Nocturne No. 5 in B♭ is a very well-known one and was included by Esposito in his " Students' Classics ". These were followed by four Concertos, a Quintet and some smaller pieces. In 1822 he wrote his Nocturne No. 6 in F and a vocal duet called " The Maid of Valdarno," published by Clementi, on the title-page of which the composer is described as " John Field of St. Petersburg ". The following year, 1823, he composed the Pastorale Nocturne No. 7, which was given great praise by Schumann in the *Neue Zeitschrift*.

Field had now been eighteen years in Russia, all of which he spent in St. Petersburg. In 1822 he decided to remove to Moscow, where he had little difficulty in establishing himself as a teacher and where he took large sums of money at his concerts. But here, morally speaking, he went from bad to worse and spent much of his time in wasteful living. He often neglected his teaching appointments and, before long, entirely abandoned composition. Had it not been for this laziness, he would have attained the highest fortune : his first concert in Moscow procured for him six thousand silver roubles, which would have been equivalent to £625. His means soon melted away, however, and his health, never very robust, began to cause him trouble. During this period his death was reported twice—in 1828 and 1831. On the latter occasion Field denied it publicly by writing to the musical journal *Harmonicon*, which published the following correction : " The report of the famous John Field's death at the beginning of the year is unfounded. This great vituoso on the Forte Piano still lives and, if his love of retirement can be conquered, Europe

need not renounce the expectation of being gratified by hearing him; but it is with difficulty he can resolve on any exhibition of his powers."

Yet, in spite of his dissipated life, Field was a great favourite. Like a true Irishman, he was famous for his hospitality and generosity. Every Sunday morning he held open house for the poor, and to those in dire need he gave five roubles each. He seems to have had no head for business; he never really knew how much money he earned, and was so extremely absentminded in such matters that he often misplaced large bank notes. In appearance he was clean shaven, had a soft expressive face, an arched nose, and fair hair. He was an excellent teacher, being a man of deep understanding and sympathy. He was very fond of animals and kept four dogs, each of which he called by a classical name. His favourite pastime was to take long rides in his carriage and to drop off at a tavern for refreshments.

At the end of the year 1831, however, Field seems to have pulled himself together and regained some of his old character and determination. He accepted an invitation from the Philharmonic Society of London to play at a concert in the English capital on February 27, 1832. He was given a royal welcome, and his own Concerto in E*b*, which he performed, was greatly admired. At the Haydn Centenary Concert on March 31st in the same year he appeared along with Moscheles and Cramer, and in spite of the presence of these two pianistic giants he did not fail to triumph and win his usual applause. While Field was in London, Clementi died, on the 18 March 1832, and his old pupil was among the chief mourners at the public funeral accorded to him. Clementi was buried at Westminster Abbey on March 29th.

The winter of the year 1832-3 Field spent in Paris, where his brilliant playing was triumphantly acclaimed—a remarkable fact as Chopin, the great Polish pianist, had given a recital there a few months previously. Fétis, the eminent French musical historian who was present at one of Field's concerts held on December 25, 1832, writes: "Whoever has not heard this great pianist can form no idea of the marvellous mechanism of his fingers—mechanism such that the greatest difficulties seem to be the simplest things and that his hands do not appear to move. He is no less astonishing in producing an infinite variety of 'nuances,' whether as regards breadth, sweetness or accent. An enthusiasm impossible to describe . . . . was manifested by the vast audience who were present to hear his concerto, full of charm, rendered with the perfection of finish, the precision of neatness and expression, which would be impossible to surpass and which very few pianists could hope to equal." Joseph d'Ortigue in his *Balcon de l'Opéra* writes of these Paris concerts: "At the Conservatoire Field was accompanied by a full orchestra. Even as Paganini, Field is not less remarkable by reason of his compositions as his playing. It is thus a double study for listeners . . . . As a pianist

Field has no rival, whether as regards genre or method. He has no adopted system and is of no school . . . . Field is Field, a school of his own. His is a native and original talent. His playing is a sheer delight . . . . . At first one imagines that his playing is a little ponderous ; then gradually it becomes animated, delicate, and inconceivably neat amid the most intricate mazes. In his case the style is the man. His music is the music of the fairies."

During the spring and summer of 1833 Field made an extensive tour through France, playing at Toulouse, Lyons, and Marseilles where he was styled " the Racine of the piano." He also visited Bruxelles, and on September 4th we find him giving a concert in Geneva at the Salle-de-Casino, where he played his Concerto No. 6 and his two Nocturnes in A (No. 4 and the Pastorale). At all these places he astonished his listeners with his superb playing. He then journeyed to Italy, where he played at Florence, Milan, Venice and Naples—and was hailed as a genius by the Italian critics. A great number of Field's biographers aver that, in Italy, his playing failed to please his aristocratic hearers and that at this period failure began to shadow his path. But that these statements are quite untrue has been proved by the reports in the continental press of the time. There is no doubt as to the manner in which he was received in every town or city that he visited ; wherever he came he triumphed. That many of his compositions were not long-lasting was no fault of Field's. A complete transformation in the art of piano-playing, owing to the new combinations and mechanisms introduced by Moscheles and Hummel, came about soon afterwards. Nevertheless Field still continued to please the critics both in his playing and in his compositions.

On his arrival in Naples in 1834 the strain of the tour seems to have been too much for him, for he fell seriously ill, suffering from fistula. He entered the hospital there and underwent an operation. Needless to say, his recovery was hampered by his former habits of intemperance, and he was completely impoverished when he left the hospital after nine months. He could not be prevailed on to write to any of his Russian friends to let them know of his circumstances. Indeed he might have been left to die alone in that hospital in Naples, if a certain Russian family called Rachmanoff, who happened to be travelling in Italy at the time, had not rescued him from his evil plight. In June 1835, this family, who had been friends of his in St. Petersburg, took him to a cure at Ischia, where he spent a few weeks in convalescence. They then set out for Vienna, the Rachmanoffs having determined that Field should return to Russia with them. Thus, appearing in Vienna for the second time, Field gave three magnificent concerts in the Hof Theatre on August 8th, 11th and 13th, where, according to Dannreuther, " he elicited transports of admiration by the exquisite playing of his Nocturnes." While in Vienna he composed a new Concerto and a new Nocturne.

In spite of this revival of his old self, Field never regained his health fully. He returned to Moscow, at the end of August 1835, a broken man—broken in health and spirits. In his last days, while long physical sufferings attacked him and he seemed only a shadow, he had not enough energy to execute a concerto. But whenever need obliged him to give concerts, he played nothing but his Nocturnes, which were indeed enough to charm any audience. In November, 1836, he became very ill. His friends procured all the medical aid they possibly could, but it was of no avail. He lingered on until the beginning of the year 1837. All through his life Field had never adhered to any religion; but as the end drew near some friend, thinking he might need spiritual consolation, sent a priest to his bedside.

"Are you a Protestant?" asked the priest.

"No," was the answer.

"Are you a Catholic?"

"No."

"Then perhaps a Calvinist?"

"No, not that either," said Field, "but a Pianist."

On the 11 January 1837, John Field passed out of this life at the age of fifty-four. Four days later he was given a public funeral and was buried in the Wedensky-Kirchhof in Moscow. The fine monument erected in his honour contains the following simple inscription:—

John Field
Born in Ireland in 1782
Died in Moscow in 1837
Erected to his memory by his grateful
friends and scholars

I should now like to reflect for a few moments on the musical quality of Field's compositions and to comment on the place attained by them in the history of music. As regards his playing, it was always elegant and tasteful, and certainly of the highest order. I have already given the opinions of some of his celebrated contemporaries on his various performances. Dr. Hugo Riemann in his Dictionary of Music declares Field to be "one of the most original pianistic phenomena". Henry Davey, in his "History of English Music," says: "Here at least we meet with a musician who invented a style of his own, a composer and performer of European celebrity. As a player Field is reckoned among the very greatest that ever lived. He is said to have kept his fingers almost perpendicular and his touch was distinguished by an unprecedented richness and sostenuto and by the subtlest details of expression." In his playing as well as in his Nocturnes Field was the legitimate precursor of Chopin. Dannreuther states: "Field's method of playing, as was to be expected from Clementi's best pupil, was distinguished by the most smooth and equable touch, the most perfect legato with supple wrists and

quiet position of hands, a suave and singing tone, capable of endless modifications and delicate shades of expression. He is reported to have played his Nocturnes with an inexhaustible variety of embellishments, and, like Chopin after him, is said to have preferred the small square upright piano to grands."

The works of Field, almost all for piano, include: seven Concertos, four Sonatas, a Quintet for piano with strings, sixteen Nocturnes, a number of variations and divertissements, a Polonaise en Rondeau, as well as several Waltzes, Rondos, Romances, Fantasies, and many English, Irish and Russian airs. Time, always the test of the greatness of any work of art, decrees that Field lives to-day in his Nocturnes alone. Although he wrote sixteen of these lyric pieces, charming in their simplicity, only about six or seven are played to-day; but these have earned for him a permanent place in musical history. There is no need now to doubt the authenticity of the statement that it was he who brought the Nocturne into being; it is a fact long established and admitted by all modern musicologists. Some writers, it is true, have tried to credit its invention to Chopin; but Chopin was only four years of age when Field, in 1814, wrote the first of these musical poems. There is no doubt that they served as a model for Chopin, who was influenced and inspired by them. In comparing the works of the two composers one can detect similarity in many points—the same type of feeling, the graceful ornaments, the waving accompaniments and the singing melodies. Of this singing quality in Field's music Eric Bloom has written: "Field is unique .... There is nothing else to take his place, not even Chopin's similarly named pieces. Here he sings his heart out, and it is because he has learned to sing that he becomes entirely himself. His range of mood within the species of Nocturne is extraordinary—far greater than Chopin's. John Field gave something to the world without which it would be as the world of flowers without the daisy—no worse for those who do not know what they have missed, but not free from wistful regret for those who had once beheld the modest blossom." Chopin's Nocturnes, on the other hand, are more plaintive and passionate. Field himself did not think very highly of Chopin, whom he described as having "a sick-room talent"—a remark which brings to mind a comment made by Berlioz on the same composer: "Il mourait toute sa vie" ("he was dying all his life"). Rellstab, the famous German critic, is even less flattering upon the Great Pole: "If one holds Field's charming romances before a distorting concave mirror so that every delicate expression becomes coarse, one gets Chopin's work. We implore Mr. Chopin to return to nature." This is too severe. One gets a more rational estimate from Henry Davey: "Field made an important addition to existing means of expression by his new form, the Nocturne .... and we owe it entirely to Field. Chopin, a man of far greater intellectual power, applied deeper science and richer poetry to the Nocturne."

The word " Nocturne " means a piece to be played at night, but how Field first conceived the idea of writing a Nocturne one cannot say. Of the twenty so-called Nocturnes which appear in many publications only about sixteen had that name given to them by Field. And of these sixteen, six call for special mention: those in E*b*, C minor, A, B*b*, A*b*, and the Pastorale also in A. These Dannreuther has called " the very essence of idylls and eclogues, ' poésies intimes ' of simple charm and inimitable grace such as no undue popularity can render stale . . ." Liszt prefaced his edition of the Nocturnes by a fine appreciation of the work of this great Irishman. He writes: " Field was the first who introduced a type which traced its origin to none of the existing forms, a type in which sentiment and song were absolutely dominant . . . . He opened the way for all achievements which followed under the style of songs without words." And of the Nocturnes he remarked: "Their first tones, already, transport us into those hours when the soul, free from the burdens of the day and resting only in itself, soars upwards to the mysterious regions of starry heights. Here we see it, like Philomel of the Ancients, etherial and winged, hovering among the flowers and scents of the garden of a nature with whose essence it is lovingly permeated."

I should, indeed, be guilty of neglect were I to omit the tribute paid to Field by Ernest Walker, the musical historian. Referring to English music in the nineteenth century, he writes: " The sole noteworthy instrumental music of the time from an English pen was not written in England . . . . The name [Nocturne], since so often degraded, seems to have been his own invention; these slender piano pieces are indeed curiously original for their date . . . . . They are full of singularly refined and limpid music, which has very real distinction of manner—distinction indeed of a kind that very many little pieces by far greater composers, far greater on the whole than Field, fail to display . . . . The best of these exquisitely polished little miniatures, with their delicate melodies and their shy fugitive gracefulness, will long serve to keep his name fragrant. They and Wesley's Motets—a curious conjunction—are by far the most artistically self-subsisting specimens of English music of the period."

Although Field cannot be classed among the composers of the highest rank, nevertheless he is worthy of more attention than has been bestowed upon him by Dubliners up to the present. In the daily newspapers some months ago it was reported that, at a meeting of the Dublin Corporation, a proposal was put forward that a street be named after John Field. Whether anything further has been done in this matter I do not know; but it shows that, gradually, Field is gaining recognition among Irishmen, and it is to be hoped that definite steps will be taken to refute the charge that he is unhonoured in his native city.

MAIRE KELLY

BIRDS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

BY P. G. KENNEDY, S.J.

PART VII.—WOODCOCK AND SNIPE*

THE WOODCOCK.—The Woodcock is a bird of contrasts and, like some other crepuscular species, is to some extent a bird of mystery. It is the most highly prized addition to the sportsman's bag, and yet it is not strictly a game bird but a wader. The sportsman finds it elusive, difficult to shoot in woodland where it flickers in and out of the trees, seldom giving more than a glimpse of its erratic course. One day he will find a covert full of Woodcock and the next day not one; without rhyme or reason they have all disappeared overnight. Certain woods seem always to be desirable residences, while others of apparently similar allure in the same neighbourhood never hold a bird. Then it is a disconcerting bird, as it rises silently and unobtrusively or appears in an instant where least expected. And yet in the spring display it is by no means a silent bird, and it will use the same route night after night from the open wood or cover of brambles or evergreens where it rested during the day to its marshy feeding grounds. When prevented from night feeding by darkness or frozen ground, it will feed by day along ditches or in boggy hollows. It does not ordinarily perch on trees, though it has sometimes been known to do so. It is among the least sociable of waders, each behaving quite independently even where several are present in the same covert.

It is largely due to these fastidious tastes and contrasting habits that the Woodcock has such fascination both for the sportsman and for the naturalist. For it is not by any means a rare bird, though owing to the break-up of estates and consequent lack of protection it has decreased in numbers during the present century. From certain shooting records we can gather how plentiful Woodcock used to be in their favourite resorts. The bags at Ashford, Co. Galway, had been for years the most consistent, ranging from 100 to 200 Woodcock on each of the consecutive days of the annual shoots, although another Galway property held the record of 218 in a day. Many years ago, when the coverts at Lissadel, in Sligo, and Muckross Abbey, at Killarney, were preserved for Woodcock, the records were very similar—one season on the latter estate yielding 1,250.

The Woodcock is of a much larger size and stouter build than the Snipe. It has the upper parts beautifully marbled with rich browns,

* All the birds described in this article belong to the class of waders. For the other members of this class see article in September issue, p. 393.

buff and black, while the lighter underparts are finely barred with dark brown. The bill, which points downwards in flight, is long and straight. Its mechanism is the same as in the Snipe and some other probing birds. The tip is liberally supplied with nerve-endings, and the worms on which it largely feeds are detected purely by the very delicate sense of touch in its random probings. The upper mandible is slightly longer than the lower, and the terminal part can be raised independently of the rest. Thus when a worm is felt, the tips of the mandibles can be opened sufficiently to grasp it as they are pushed forward over it. Another prominent feature of the Woodcock is its large eye, which is set far back and high up on its round head. Its eyesight is said to be more adapted to shadow and darkness than to daylight. This accounts for the fact that the bird when flushed will never face the open so long as it can seek the half-light of the coverts. Its natural instincts are to fly low, to dive from light to shade and from shade to deeper darkness.

From March to July the male Woodcock indulges in a curious ritual known as " roding ". At sunset or soon afterwards he begins a flight in the nesting district, traversing repeatedly a regular beat or circuit. He flies quite fast over the tree-tops or over open ground, sometimes down woodland rides or between tree trunks. Roding at dusk varies from a quarter to nearly a full hour in duration, and it is resumed at dawn but with less regularity. During the flight two notes are generally heard, a thin " chizzic " uttered with open bill and heard at a considerable distance, and a low croaking " croho, croho," uttered with closed bill and coinciding with a momentary hovering or hesitation in flight. Mr. Moffat has seen, during the roding, two birds flying alongside for a considerable distance, chirruping loudly and excitedly as if in defiance, and he suggests that this may possibly be due to one male bird trespassing upon the beat of another.

Although 78 per cent. of British and 94 per cent. of Irish Woodcock are sedentary, there is a very considerable and noticeable migratory movement from October onwards. From an analysis of recoveries of ringed birds it appears that two-thirds of the North British Woodcock that migrate come to Ireland to winter. The return migration is in February and March. The Irish-bred birds that migrate go to France, Spain and Portugal. Woodcock from Russia, the Baltic States, Germany, Norway and Sweden migrate by two main routes through Great Britain, one down the east coast to Kent and across the Channel to France, Spain and Portugal, the other by the east and west coasts of Scotland, through the western isles, the west coast of England and by overland routes. A large proportion of these western birds journey to Ireland, most arriving on the north, and smaller numbers on the east coast. Although only five Woodcock ringed in Sweden, one in Pomerania and one at Heligoland have been recovered in Ireland, the immigrants from the Continent must be numerous. We have to remember that only a small proportion of the migrants are

ringed, and that only a small proportion of the ringed birds are ever recovered. There is no evidence that the migrants to Ireland go further. The return emigration of the continental birds is from the third week of March to the first week of May, most having gone before mid-April. Besides these migrations there are frequent weather movements by the same routes from December to February. During periods of severe frost and snow it has long been noticed that there is a considerable influx of Woodcock from overseas to the North of Ireland, while at the same time there is a general movement of the Woodcock in the country to the western and southern seaboard and outlying islands. Payne-Gallwey relates that, during the severe frost which lasted for three weeks in January, 1881, Woodcock were so abundant on the Clare coast that in a neighbouring town he counted 800 laid out in rows and on sale for from four pence to six pence a couple. He states that one dealer of the town, though he had two rivals in the trade, forwarded to Dublin and London 1,000 Cock a week for the three weeks, adding that 5,000 were brought into another small town in Clare during the frost. (*The Fowler in Ireland*). During hard weather Woodcock, unlike Snipe, are said to retain their condition because they are so resourceful in seeking food. When their usual feeding grounds are frozen up or snowed under, they resort to the seashore and feed on shellfish among the rocks and seaweed.

Since 1833 the Woodcock has extended its breeding range to every Irish county. Writers in the 18th century speak of the bird as a winter visitor. In the first half of the 19th century it colonized considerable areas in the North and South-East, while in the latter half it spread to the West and South-West. Usher and Warren say that about 1860 the breeding of the Woodcock began to be a generally recognised fact throughout Ireland. The question has often been asked, if the Woodcock did not always breed in this country, just happening to escape notice. Mr. Moffat holds that it did not always nest here. He quotes an " Act for the Preservation of Game " passed by the Irish Parliament in 1786, in which is given a list of the game-birds whose eggs are to be protected, and he points out the significant omission of the Woodcock's name as " a convincing proof that no Irish landowner of the day had the least cause to suspect that any Woodcocks nested on his property." Nor does Mr. Moffat consider " it possible that, as has sometimes been suggested, the breeding of the Woodcock in Ireland was merely an unobserved fact in days when less attention was paid to natural history. Where Woodcocks breed freely, as they now do in nearly every part of the country, their nests or young are stumbled on every year in the most perfectly accidental manner, while the play of the old birds over the tree-tops is, during the nuptial season, one of the commonest sights of evening."

The Woodcock nests on the ground, usually in woodland, often at the foot of a tree if there is a clear space beneath it, or in scrub. It is said

never to nest in tangled undergrowth, as it likes to have an open way of escape. The nest is a mere depression in the ground lined with dead leaves. Normally it lays four glossy eggs ranging from greyish white to buff and warm brown and spotted and blotched with varying shades of chestnut and ash-grey. The bird sits with its neck drawn in, and even where there is no cover it is difficult to see, so well does it harmonise with its surroundings. It does not leave the nest until almost trodden on, and cases are on record of where the sitting hen was touched before it took flight. Two broods are reared in the season.

It is a well-established fact that Woodcock at times carry their young to remove them from danger or to lift them over obstacles or, as some observers assert, to transport them to feeding grounds which they could not otherwise reach. Usually one is carried at a time, but the parent has been seen to return for a second, a third and even a fourth young one. A good deal has been written about the manner of carrying. But the generally accepted opinion is that the young are carried between the legs, most usually between the thighs, and often pressed against the breast. Sometimes, however, they are apparently held lower down between the feet. Occasionally too, probably if the grip is felt to be insecure, additional support is given to the young by the bill or depressed tail of the parent. Transport on the back has been recorded in a few cases, in one of which a bird carried two of its young in succession pick-a-back across a river.

THE GREAT SNIPE.—The Great Snipe is a very rare passage-migrant in autumn and early winter. It has been recorded in some fifteen instances from all the provinces. It has no doubt often escaped notice owing to its general resemblance to the Common Snipe. It is a slightly bigger bird than the resident species and has a slower and heavier flight without sharp zig-zags. When adult it shows more white in the outer feathers of its tail, which is usually spread out in flight. In the hand it can be readily distinguished by the number of its tail feathers, which are sixteen, while the Common Snipe has fourteen and the Jack Snipe only twelve. It is known to sportsmen as the Double Snipe, the Common being the Full and the Jack the Half Snipe. Although it is not easy as a rule to identify a Great Snipe in the field, I once had the good fortune to see one in such favourable circumstances that I had no doubt whatever. On November 15, 1925, the late Mr. Joseph Kavanagh and I were watching birds on the North Bull when we saw on the fairway of St. Anne's golf course a Snipe which was behaving in an unusual manner. It was remarkably tame and ran and walked before us, apparently picking up food from the grass without probing its bill into the ground. When we put it up it rose silently, flew without any twists and turns for a short distance and alighted in a sand bunker. We then approached quietly and watched it feeding for some time. On putting it up again, we noticed that the

tail was fanned out and that the outer feathers were noticeably white. Hence we concluded, and I think rightly, that the bird was an adult Great Snipe.

This species breeds in Norway, Sweden, Finland, North Russia and in Siberia east to Yenisei. After the nesting season some migrate southwards through Europe and southern Asia to the Mediterranean region and to East Africa south to Natal and the Cape Province; others travel to Arabia, Iraq, Persia and Turkestan.

THE COMMON SNIPE.—Ireland has long been famous among sportsmen for the abundance of its Snipe—" to which," as Watters says, " the sister kingdom can offer no comparison." This is due to our more mild and open winter and to the extent of suitable feeding grounds which our country affords. It is said, however, that the numbers have fallen greatly since the introduction of breech-loading guns. At any rate the big bags of former times are no longer obtained. We read that in the last century it was no uncommon occurrence for from 40 to 60 Snipe to fall to a single gun in the day. Payne-Gallwey tells that Patrick Halloran, the famous Co. Clare shooter, accounted for no less than 1,376 Snipe in the winter of 1880-81, his heaviest bag for one day being 45. The same author relates that a well-known sportsman in Co. Limerick undertook and actually succeeded in shooting a thousand Snipe in a thousand hours for a considerable wager. The ground chosen was within ten miles of the city of Limerick. (*The Fowler in Ireland*). But, though sportsmen do not reach the record bags of former days, they continue to fare well, for Snipe are still plentiful and widespread throughout the country. The numbers are greatly increased in winter by migrants from overseas. It is clear, from the recoveries of ringed birds, that there is a considerable immigration from England and Scotland, while there is also evidence of arrivals from the continent.

The Common Snipe is characterized by a very long, straight bill and by a striped effect of dark, richly patterned plumage. The upper parts are mottled and barred black and rufous brown with buff feather edgings which produce the effect of longitudinal stripes on the back. The neck and breast are buff with dark markings and the flanks are buffish-white with dark bars.

The Common Snipe is much less seen in the open than most waders, being largely crepuscular and spending most of the day resting or hiding in the cover of coarse grass and rushes. More often than not it is first seen when flushed. On rising it usually zig-zags for some distance close to the ground before going off with a rapid and direct flight at a considerable height. It is not markedly gregarious, often rising singly even where many are present on the same ground, but " wisps " of half a dozen or more are sometimes seen flying together with the same co-ordination as other

waders. There are particular spots, such as a sodden patch of grass or a rush-grown pool, in marshes and wastes and bogland which Snipe seem to favour beyond all others. It may be that the feeding is good in these places of their fancy. At any rate sportsmen can there shoot a Snipe or two almost every day throughout the season, as if there were a waiting list of birds in the neighbourhood.

When flushed the Snipe generally utters a hoarse, grating note—" scaap "—which may be repeated several times in quick succession. In Spring there is another quick and rhythmical note—" chip-per, chip-per, chip-per "—uttered from the ground or from a post or branch of a tree. Besides these notes, there is the " bleating " or " drumming " which is a well-known characteristic of the Snipe in the nesting season. The bird ascends to a great height and then plunges earthward at an angle of about 45°. This rapid descent is accompanied by a weird, bleating noise, comparable to the bleat of a goat. Controversy raged long as to the source of the curious sound. Some held that it was vocal, others that it was instrumental, produced either by the tremulous motion of the wings or by the tail feathers. It is now satisfactorily established that the drumming is mainly caused by the rush of air through the stiff outer tail feathers, while the *tremolo* effect is added by the air from the quivering half-closed wings impinging on the tail. That the tail was largely responsible for the sound was first shown by a very simple experiment which anyone can perform for himself. By sticking the outer tail feathers of a Snipe in a cork and by rapidly twirling the cork, suitably weighted, at the end of a string, after the manner of using a sling, the bleat was reproduced with considerable fidelity though not quite accurately. A further experiment was made with a mounted specimen in the position of drumming. A strong stream of air from a bellows, directed against the under-side of the wings, was found to be deflected to the tail feathers, causing them to vibrate with a humming sound similar to that produced in the experiment with the cork. Then, by rapidly tapping the upper surface of the wings with the finger-tips to simulate the quivering in life, a tremulous quality was communicated to the sound and the drumming, exact in every detail, was produced. These experiments left no doubt about the origin of the sound, while observations in the field confirm the conclusion. Any observer can see the absolute coincidence of the sound with the downward swoop of the bird in life : the tail is spread out, the outer pair of feathers standing out noticeably from the rest ; the wings are half closed and quivering.

The Snipe breeds in every Irish county in suitable localities, such as marshy meadows, rough pastures and wet patches in bogs. The nest is well hidden in a grass tussock, a clump of rushes and sometimes in heather, but not far from water or bog. Four eggs are usually laid, and in some cases two broods are reared.

Sabine's Snipe is a name given to a constantly recurring, melanistic variety of the Common Snipe. It has been recorded chiefly from Ireland, fairly often from southern England, but seldom from elsewhere. Its chief features are that there are no broad, longitudinal stripes down the scapulars and mantle, the crown is sooty-black, the upper parts are black barred and marked deep rufous and the underparts are dull rufous or brown buff streaked with darker brown.

THE FAEROE SNIPE.—The Faeroe Snipe is a winter visitor to this country, probably arriving annually, but few have been identified. It is so very like the Common Snipe that in the field it is impossible to distinguish the one from the other, while even in the hand it requires an expert to do so with any certainty. The main distinction from the adult Common Snipe is that it has much narrower longitudinal light stripes, giving the upper parts a characteristic difference in pattern. The nape and sides of the head are more rufous, and the bars and streaks of the upper-parts are a deeper chestnut-red.

The Faeroe Snipe breeds in the Orkneys and Shetlands, in Iceland and the Faeroes. Specimens have been examined or birds ringed in Iceland have been recovered in the counties of Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, Kildare, Roscommon, Mayo, Tyrone and Donegal. It will be seen from these records that the species is widespread in its visits to this country, but until ringing is done on a much larger scale it will be impossible to estimate what proportion of our migrant Snipe belong to the Faeroe species.

THE JACK SNIPE.—The Jack or Half Snipe is a winter visitor and passage migrant to this country, and though widely dispersed it is much less numerous than the Common Snipe. Payne-Gallwey gives one Jack to a score of Common Snipe as the proportion in which shooters meet the species. It has been obtained in Ireland as late as May and as early as August, but even in September its appearance is unusual, while October and November are the chief months of its arrival. The Jack is much smaller than the Common Snipe, with a relatively shorter bill. The plumage has a more metallic gloss of green and purple, the buff and chestnut longitudinal streaks on the back being more distinct and the flanks showing dark mottlings instead of definite bars. The tail has twelve pointed, dark pale-edged feathers.

The Jack Snipe is a solitary bird, being usually flushed singly even where two or more are on the same ground. It remains well hidden in the grass, reluctant to fly at all, often springing up only when about to be trodden on, and generally pitching again after a short flight. It appears rather slow on the wing, and although its course is by no means direct it is without sharp twists and zig-zags. When put up two or three times,

it sometimes returns to its original hiding place. It rises silently as a rule, but it has been known to utter a low, distinct note.

This species breeds in Norway, in northern Sweden, Finland, Russia and in Siberia. It migrates south either through Europe to the Canaries, North Africa, south to the Blue Nile and Kenya, or through Asia to Iraq, Persia, India and Ceylon—some travelling as far east as Formosa and Japan.

THE RED-BREASTED SNIPE.—This wader, originally named the Red-breasted Snipe, was afterwards thought to be a Sandpiper and was often called the Red-breasted Sandpiper. But since it has been shown to be a true Snipe, the name now accepted as correct is the Red-breasted Snipe. In America it is called the Dowitcher, from one of its call notes. It is a Nearctic species, breeding from mid-Alberta and the west side of Hudson Bay northwards. It migrates chiefly through eastern Canada and the United States to the Gulf of Mexico and the West Indies and thence to central Brazil and Peru. Its occurrence in Europe, generally in the autumn, is accidental. Two females of the species were found in Ireland in 1893 : one, an immature bird, in Leix at the end of September ; the other, an adult, in Tipperary early in October.

Outside the breeding season the Red-breasted Snipe frequents the mud and sand flats of sheltered bays and estuaries and the borders of ponds and pools. It is said also to haunt the reed-fringed bays of lakes which most waders avoid. It is the only bird of the open shores with an extremely long, snipe-like bill and showing in flight a narrow white patch in the centre of its back. A plump, stocky-looking bird, it stands low on greenish, rather short legs contrasting with its long bill. In adult winter-plumage it is ash-grey above, with white underparts. The red breast of summer becomes in winter white streaked and clouded with ash-brown. Though smaller, it is said to be easily confounded with the Bar-tailed Godwit, as it often appears larger than it is owing to its habit of puffing out its feathers. The enlarged tip of its bill at once distinguishes it from the Dunlin.

P. G. KENNEDY

CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN NEW GUINEA

BY CHARLOTTE M. KELLY

TO better appreciate the position of the Catholic missions in New Guinea it is necessary to know something of the history of that island—the second largest in the world—which was discovered by the Spanish navigator, Alvaro de Saavedra, in 1528. He christened it " The Golden Isle " because of the yellow metal he found in the estuary where he landed ; it was Juguo Ortez who, visiting it in 1545 and observing a resemblance between its natives and those of the Guinea coast, gave it the name of New Guinea. In succeeding centuries many explorers—Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese and English (among these latter Captain Cook)—sailed their vessels round and through what is now known as the Territory of New Guinea. The Dutch made an unsuccessful attempt in the eighteenth century to take possession of some parts of the west coast, but in 1793 the English East India Company formally annexed the whole island. After the peace of 1815, however, the Dutch Government sent out more surveying expeditions and in 1848 obtained possession of the western end of New Guinea. In 1885 the German Empire, by a treaty with England, established a Protectorate in the north-east, which was henceforth known as Kaiser Wilhelmsland ; while Great Britain proclaimed a Protectorate in the south, Papua, and this in 1888 became a Crown Colony. At the outbreak of the European War in 1914 German New Guinea was taken by the Australians and came under British military rule for the duration ; in 1921, by the Treaty of Versailles, it was mandated to Australia, together with New Britain, New Ireland (then called New Pomerania and New Mecklenberg respectively) and several of the Solomon Islands. Rabaul in New Britain, which has figured so prominently in the present war, became the capital of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea. All these political changes were to have an important effect upon the history of the Catholic missions in New Guinea.

Not without reason has New Guinea always been regarded as one of the most arduous mission countries. It is a land of great tropical beauty, of lofty mountains and fertile valleys, of lakes and rivers set in luxuriant vegetation, of rare orchids and Birds of Paradise. But it is also the land of cannibals and head-hunters, of witchcraft and sorcerers, of malaria-infested swamps and impenetrable jungle, of mosquitoes and white ants, of volcanic eruptions and not infrequent earthquakes. Until comparatively recent times the interior was unknown, save to the intrepid explorer who brought back tales of the savagery and barbarity of the inhabitants. It has been said of the Papuans—a term that covers all the natives of the island and territory of New Guinea—that they are " without initiative,

without ambition, but nevertheless selfish and untrustworthy, avaricious and highly revengeful." Yet a missionary of thirty years experience writes: "They are not beasts as they are so often designated, but men with intellectual faculties, ideas and emotions, which excite our astonishment. One anthropologist who spent two years in their midst confessed: 'I should never have thought that these people were so religious.' I too, as a missionary, would never have thought so if I had not become more intimately acquainted with them." A people of mixed origin, they differ widely in their beliefs and habits. One missionary says: "The characteristic religion of the Papuans is spirit worship, sorcery, and nature-worship," while another declares that some tribes acknowledge one Supreme Being as the author of life. What is undeniable is that witchcraft and sorcery was, and to some extent still is, practised in all these islands.

With regard to material culture, the people still live as in the Stone Age. The men hunt and fight; the women work in the fields and prepare the food with primitive implements. Weapons and tools are made of stone; a human shoulder-blade is made into an effective dagger. Their homes are grass-covered huts, but every village has its "spirit-house," elaborately decorated and containing the heads of their enemies to propitiate the gods and protect the village from evil spirits. Morally and culturally the Papuans are on a very low level. They have no alphabet nor any printed sign. Before the coming of the missionaries infanticide and the inhuman killing of old men and women were common, while a constant state of warfare reigned between the tribes, the victors disposing of their conquered enemies by eating them. The bringing together of different tribes at the mission station has put an end to this warfare in many places, but in parts of the interior where the Patrol Officer and the missionary do not penetrate it still goes on.

What is the life of a missionary in New Guinea? A recent American film of the New Guinea jungle was entitled by its producer: "Green Hell." What the American and Australian soldiers had to contend with, as they fought their way through the virgin forests of the interior, has been the everyday experience of the missionaries for years—a fact that soldiers were not slow to recognize. Burning heat, stifling humidity, malaria, mosquitoes, and an overpowering lassitude caused by the atmosphere that makes the smallest exertion an intolerable effort.

The first missionaries were faced with great difficulties. In the early years roads were unknown and travelling could only be done by river. The damp heat that sapped the missionary's energies also destroyed his belongings—books, clothes, vestments—until he learnt how to preserve them. (In this respect one missionary declared: "The chief care is lest the missionaries themselves become rusty and mouldy; the rest is an entirely subordinate question.") The practice of "black-birding"—forcible recruitment of natives, originally for overseas plantations, later

for the goldfields—which persisted up to 1914 increased the peril of the missionary's life, since if he entered a villlage where such recruitment had taken place, he was liable to be made to pay for the " blackbirder's " misdeeds.

Apart from the hardships and the loneliness that every missionary knows, New Guinea has its special problems. The widely-scattered population is one ; the diversity of language is another. Every tribe speaks a separate language, over three hundred being in use along the coast. This prevents missionaries changing from one district to another without serious expenditure of time and effort ; it means a different Catechism, dictionary and Bible for each tribe, and it adds immensely to the task of training catechists—the " publicity agents " of the missionary. In the early years the climate took its toll of lives, but increased knowledge and improved conditions have enabled the missionaries to overcome or lessen its effects.

The missionary history of New Guinea begins in 1881 when Leo XIII proposed to the Abbé Jules Chevalier, founder of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart at Issoudun, Bourges, to send priests to the South Pacific. The Marists and the Milan missionaries had been at work in the South Sea Islands earlier in the century ; but the savagery of the natives, who murdered most of the missionaries, including Blessed Peter Chanel, S.M., the protomartyr of Oceania, resulted in all missionary activity being suspended there for twenty-five years. It was not until 1898 that the Marists were able to return to these islands, where they have laboured successfully ever since.

In 1882 five Sacred Heart Missionaries under the leadership of Father Navarre, future Vicar Apostolic of Papua, landed at Rabaul in New Britain. They were greeted with apparent friendliness by the natives, but this first effort was doomed to failure. Malaria attacked them, supplies ran short, their house was burnt over their heads and they barely escaped with their lives. " We are ruined ; may the Sacred Heart of Jesus be praised," wrote Father Navarre to his General in France. When they returned from Australia, whither they had gone for new supplies, they had to face hardship and privation for many years. And their progress was practically nil—seventy-five baptisms in seven years. Hardest of all to bear was the Governor's order—due to pressure from the Protestants, who had been in New Britain since 1875—that exiled Catholic missionaries to the Archipelago of Louisade. Not for nine years had they freedom to work where they wished. In 1885 Father Verjus, the Apostle of New Guinea, arrived in Papua, the first Catholic missionary to set foot on the island. In 1889, when British New Guinea was made a Vicariate Apostolic with Mgr. Navarre Vicar Apostolic, Father Verjus was appointed co-adjutor and consecrated Bishop of Limyra. In the same year missionary Sisters, Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, also founded by Abbé Chevalier, came to

New Guinea and—by schools, orphanages, hospitals, and other activities—have contributed much to the growth of the mission.

Bishop Couppé was made Vicar Apostolic of the recently created (1889) Vicariate Apostolic of Rabaul. Anxious to put his mission on a sound economic basis, he established plantations and other works where the natives learned to become industrious human beings. One of these works, a sawmill, enabled the missionaries to use local timber for building instead of importing it from Australia. Steady progress, spiritual and material, followed until 1904 when the mission got its baptism of blood. In August of that year ten missionaries, priests, brothers and nuns, going peacefully about their work at St. Paul's mission station in the mountainous Baining country, were brutally murdered by revengeful natives. It was a crushing calamity, but volunteers were not lacking to replace those martyred, and the work went on.

Meanwhile on the four hundred miles stretch of coast in Kaiser Wilhelmsland the missionaries of the Society of the Divine Word were actively engaged in mission work. This German Society had been founded by Father Arnold Janssen in 1875 at Steyl, Holland, when the Kulturkamp had closed the seminaries of Prussia and sent the religious into exile. In 1885, when the German Empire established a Protectorate in New Guinea and named it Kaiser Wilhelmsland, there were no Catholic missionaries working there. The southern part of the island was in charge of the Sacred Heart Missionaries, but they had not been able to extend their activities to the north-east. Germany appealed to Rome and Rome appealed to Father Janssen, who agreed to send some of his priests. Negotiations took some time; but on August 13, 1896 Father Eberhard Limbrock, first Prefect Apostolic, disembarked with two priests and three brothers at Friedrich Wilhelmshafen. The first mission station was at Tumleo, an island some miles north of Alexishafen (Madang). They quickly realized that, if their work was to endure, they must be self-supporting; and so, like the Sacred Heart Missionaries, they turned their attention to agriculture, raised cattle and pigs, started plantations of cocoanut, and in time established a very good trade in copra. A sawmill was set up, and a small steamer was purchased to maintain communications between the missions and to transport copra. When in 1905 the North German Lloyd boat ceased to call at any Catholic mission in New Guinea, the "Gabriel" under the command of Brother Canisius (who held a captain's licence) became essential not only to the missionaries but to the Government who used it to recruit workers and carry goods. The mission expanded rapidly, and Tumleo became and is to-day a flourishing Catholic community, but the headquarters of the mission is at Alexishafen, where in 1912 a central hospital was built and put in charge of the Servants of the Holy Ghost, an Order of Missionary Sisters founded also by Father Janssen. The language problem in the schools was partially solved by

he teaching of a common language, in this case German, while extensive se was made of pidgin English. Despite the climate four of the six missionaries who went to New Guinea in 1896 were still in active service in 919. In 1922 the Holy Father raised the Prefecture Apostolic of East Kaiser Wilhelmsland to the status of a Vicariate Apostolic with the title of East New Guinea. The first Vicar Apostolic was Bishop Wolf, and before the present war over seventy priests and ninety Brothers, as well as a great number of Sisters, had charge of more than one hundred-and-fifty churches, sixteen hospitals, thirty-three dispensaries and numerous schools and orphanages.

In 1926 Father Bruno Hagspiel, S.V.D., accompanying the Superior General on a visitation of New Guinea, wrote : " I found special delight, when travelling in this department of the globe, in having placed almost continuously before my eyes indubitable proofs of actual marvels that have been wrought among the people in the way of advancing them . . . . even from the lowest stages of barbarity and actual cannibalism, into the ranks of true practitioners of Christian charity and Catholic life. And all this has been accomplished within a period of (in the case of our Fathers) less than thirty years of missionary work."

The European War of 1914-1918 brought much hardship to the missions. Food was scarce ; the missionaries were obliged to depend on what they could produce themselves and had reason to be thankful that they were in so large a measure self-supporting. Transport was difficult and materials of all kind were hard to obtain. Expansion was impossible since building was at a standstill, only the most urgent repairs being allowed. Most serious of all was the loss of new personnel. No missionary might enter the islands during the war nor for a considerable time afterwards, and the burden imposed on those already there—some of whom had been working without a holiday for fifteen to twenty years—was very great. The lack of medicines, particularly quinine so essential in that climate, increased the danger from malaria and other fevers.

The missionaries of the Society of the Divine Word were especially affected by the war, as the majority of them came from Austria or Germany. When Australia took over German New Guinea in 1914 schools were closed, work on the plantations practically ceased as the workers were sent back to their villages. The big mission station at Alexishafen (henceforth known as Madang) was almost empty ; only such workers were allowed to remain as were necessary for the maintenance of an adequate food supply, the importation of foodstuffs having entirely ceased. Lack of imported materials resulted, however, in the starting of local enterprises by the missionaries—a lime kiln, a brick kiln, a tannery, a dockyard and a machine shop—which quickly became an indispensable part of the mission. An oath of neutrality was administered to all the inhabitants, and the missionaries were allowed, under certain restrictions, to use their steamer

for their work. Throughout the war relations between the missionaries and the Australians were extremely good; but when the Treaty of Versailles made German New Guinea a Mandated Territory, the Australian Government declared that all German nationals—priests, nuns, and brothers—would have to leave the country. This order was never put into force, but for many years the missions lacked a sufficient complement of workers. When the restrictions were removed, many of the new missionaries came from the United States, where both the Society of the Divine Word and the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart have flourishing houses, and many of them bear Irish names.

The advent of the aeroplane as a practical means of transport brought great changes to New Guinea. While prospectors used it for easy access to the gold fields, missionaries found it a valuable assistance in their work for souls. Mission stations in the interior were no longer cut off for months; the quicker transport of food and medicines meant many lives saved; and hitherto unknown country could now be explored. But that the danger from savage tribes was in no way decreased is evidenced by the brutal murder of Brother Eugene Frank, S.V.D., in 1935, and by the following statement made by a missionary some years previous; "During these past twelve years more than five hundred cases of head-hunting have come to my personal knowledge."

Following the resignation of Bishop Couppé after forty years' work in New Britain and the appointment of a new Vicar Apostolic to the Rabaul Vicariate, many new stations were opened on the island, a school for catechists was organised, and a Maternity Home and Leper Station were established under the charge of the Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart. In 1937 a volcanic eruption laid waste hundreds of miles of country. Stations were rebuilt only to be destroyed once more by the severe earthquakes of 1940. Yet, despite these calamities, the mission continued to expand, and at the time of the Japanese invasion there were 60 principal and 300 secondary stations, over 60 priests (six from the Irish house of the Society in Cork), 50 Brothers and 145 Sisters (45 native).

In British New Guinea the headquarters of the mission is at Yule Island, where the Daughters of the Sacred Heart have their head house. They have as well several outlying stations and, on Thursday Island, a large school and orphanage. The last Irish Sister to go to the Vicariate from the convent at Ballybay, Monaghan, reached Papua in August 1940.

Such in outline is the history of the missions in New Guinea up to 1939. Then came the World War. As in 1914 supplies were difficult to obtain, communication was slow and travelling perilous. But on the whole, for the first two-and-a-half years of the war, life in the mission stations went on uninterruptedly, though the tragic destruction of the Mother House of the Society of the Divine Word and of the other branches in neighbouring countries brought personal sorrow and loss to the mission-

ries in New Guinea. Thirty months of comparative peace, and then in he latter half of January 1942 missionaries and natives heard for the irst time the roar of Japanese planes overhead. Rabaul in New Britain, Lae and Salamaua in the north-east coast of New Guinea were taken by he Japanese. Mission stations were destroyed, missionaries imprisoned, while those who escaped had to take refuge in the mountains to live as best they could among the natives. Regular communication with the outside world ceased, but occasionally an air mail letter got through from he missionaries. One of these written in May, 1942 stated that they had been separated from Australia for months with a consequent shortage of food supplies. But for a time the more isolated stations were comparatively unaffected. A letter sent in December 1942 to the American house of the S.V.D., at Techny, Illinois, and received there in January 1943 said: 'As for the South Pacific War—we have not been affected very much. As far as the mission is concerned I might say that we are having 'business as usual'. The Christians have reached the 31,000 mark, and this point keeps rising. We have but one shortage—host flour. We have several good substitutes for bread, but no substitute for host flour . . . ." The writer of that letter has since been reported captured by the Japanese and interned on Kariru Island.

The fighting spread and intensified. The destruction of the principal mission station at Merauke, Dutch New Guinea, was a forerunner of what was to happen later in other places. When in 1902 the missions in Dutch New Guinea were detached from the Vicariate Apostolic of Batavia, a separate Vicariate was established and given first to the charge of the Jesuits and later, in 1905, to the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart. Merauke is in a district noted for the ferocity of its natives—headhunters and cannibals. For the first seventeen years there were no baptisms except of the dying; as in all parts of New Guinea the language problem was a great one; travelling was difficult, since there were no roads and the whole district became a swamp at certain times of the years. Progress was made chiefly through the children. In 1937 native Catholics numbered 39,000.

Yet in 1939 Merauke was still without a good church. Then in that year the twelve priests who, aided by a hundred catechists, served the immense district came together for their annual re-union and decided to build a church that would be worthy of the principal city in Dutch New Guinea. Despite the shortage of material consequent on the outbreak of war the church was finished in 1940, and among its first congregations were American and Australian soldiers. Its history subsequent to the Japanese invasion is best told in the words of one who had laboured there for many years: " Then came December 1942. In five minutes the pride of the old missionaries who had waited more than thirty-five years for this church was in ruins. Our Lord, the Fathers, the Brothers, the Sisters, were without a roof. Church, presbytery and convent are no more. That

is the end of the mission. But is it? No; it is only the beginning of a new period. The old pioneers never despair."

The Bishop and seven of his missionaries were reported killed in the Kie Islands, but ten of the forty priests of the Vicariate are still with their flock. Of the rest, some managed to get to Australia, but many were captured by the Japanese. Catechists were exiled to the Kie Islands, but their captors were obliged to bring them back to restore order among the native population where they were the centre of social and tribal life.

In August 1943 the Headquarters of the Society of the Divine Word at Alexishafen (Madang), 150 miles north of Lae and the scene of much fighting, was reported totally destroyed with its Cathedral.

The *Universe* of 19 May 1944 prints this item of war news: "Sixty Catholic missionaries including the Vicar Apostolic, Bishop Francis Wolf, S.V.D., have been killed in New Guinea, it was announced in Sydney on Wednesday, says Reuter. Seventy-seven others have not been accounted for. Of 123 missionaries rescued from the Japanese when the Allies landed at Hollandia, 63 have arrived in Australia—all of them Catholics. If the 60 not yet arrived are also Catholics, this would still leave another 17 missing of the 200 Catholic missionaries who were in New Guinea when the war started." A later issue (July) of the same paper gives a more accurate account of what happened: "According to these documents (published in the *Osservatore Romano*) Mgr. Wolf, Vicar Apostolic of Eastern New Guinea, was made to embark with 36 priests, 45 laybrothers and 72 sisters for a place (Hollandia) which, the Japanese said, was safer from the turmoils of war. During the voyage the ship was bombed and machine-gunned. When Allied airmen realised that many missionaries were on board, the attacks stopped; but 70 had already been killed and Bishop Wolf himself was seriously injured. The Bishop died of his wounds and was buried at Hollandia."

No one knows what the future holds for the Catholic missionaries in New Guinea. But one thing is certain. The missionaries will return, the mission stations will be re-built, and the work of evangelisation will go on. Already at Techny, Illinois, a New Guinea Restoration Fund has been opened, while from Dutch New Guinea comes news of priests and government officials working together for the reconstruction of Merauke—"with the mission technicians providing valuable assistance to the Government." From the Vicariate of Rabaul there is very little news. An important stronghold of the Japanese since 1942 Rabaul has been the objective of some of the fiercest air-raids of the war. The missions will have suffered accordingly—in destruction of buildings, loss of personnel, shortage of essential supplies—but one cannot doubt that the missionaries echo the words of the old Dutch Brother in Merauke: "Nearly everything destroyed. But not all. Courage remains."

CHARLOTTE M. KELLY

FATHER CHRISTOPHER HOLYWOOD, S.J.
1559—1626

BY JAMES CORBOY, S.J.

FR. CHRISTOPHER HOLYWOOD was the first Superior of the first permanent mission of the Society of Jesus in Ireland. In previous articles I have sketched the lives of Fr. Henry Fitzsimon and Fr. James Archer.[1] These two pioneer Jesuit missionaries were eminent men of their day in Ireland. It was they who established the mission which was ruled and organised for twenty-three years by Fr. Holywood, the subject of the present biography. The task of preparing the way for an organised mission had been a long one. It was not set up, finally, until the last years of the sixteenth century. Before giving an account of Fr. Holywood's life, it is opportune to review briefly the activities of the Irish Jesuits from their arrival in Ireland until that time.

The first mission to arrive in Ireland and actually the first Jesuit mission outside the continent of Europe was that of Frs. Alphonsus Salmeron and Paschase Brouet. They were the Pope's nuncios apostolic. Three Irish princes—Conn O'Neill of Tyrone, Manus O'Donnell of Tyrconnell, Morogh O'Brien of Thomond—had begged Paul III to send envoys to Ireland. They arrived in this country on the 23 February 1542. Their work was carried out under the greatest difficulties. The Irish chieftains who had already surrendered, in word at least, to Henry VIII were afraid that the presence of Papal Legates might compromise their position in the eyes of the king. During their short stay of thirty-four days the two Jesuits succeeded in visiting many of these chieftains. Thus on their return to Rome they were able to give a first-hand account of the state of affairs in Ireland. Possibly, too, they helped to bind the people in greater union with Rome, a union which later became so outstanding a characteristic of the Irish Catholics.

The next Jesuit mission was not inaugurated until 1561, some sixteen years later. Laynez, General of the Society of Jesus, was requested by the Pope to send a holy and prudent man to Ireland to confirm the people, both cleric and lay, in obedience to the Holy See. Fr. David Wolfe, a Limerick man, was chosen; for not only did he possess the stipulated qualifications of prudence and sanctity of life, but he was also an experienced missionary. On the 20 January 1561 Wolfe landed at Cork. Having declined the episcopal honour offered by the Pope, he was appointed Apostolic Commissary and was given the fullest faculties, including power to open schools, reform monasteries and report on the dispositions of the Irish Bishops.

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[1] June, 1943 and March, 1944. I am indebted to Fr. John MacErlean, S.J., for many ideas contained in these articles.

Fr. Wolfe seems to have made a very favourable impression on the Irish. Barefoot, the people travelled miles to meet him and made their confessions, and it is recorded that they returned to their homes filled with a great esteem for the Church of Christ and the Holy See. In a few months he rectified over a thousand marriages which had not been validly contracted. With the help of two other Jesuits, Fr. William Good, an Englishman, and Edmond O'Donnell, an Irishman, he opened a small school at Limerick, which owing to the persecution then rife had shortly to be transferred to Kilmallock, later to Clonmel and finally to Youghal, where it continued to exist for about fifteen years. After its suppression, the Jesuits could not dare to make any other foundation until the reign of James I. David Wolfe was one of the most remarkable Irishmen of the century and possibly had more influence in ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland than anyone else of his time. He was arrested at least twice, but managed to escape. He died in Lisbon in 1579. His companion, Edmond O'Donnell, was captured by the English, given a mock-trial and, having been tortured several times, was condemned to death for the Faith. On the 25 October 1572 he was hanged, drawn and quartered at Cork—the first of a long line of Jesuits to die for the Faith in Europe.

Dr. Tanner, Bishop of Cork, writes of two other Jesuits, Frs. Charles Lea and Robert Rochford, who arrived in Ireland about this time : " They are spreading the best of their institute in Youghal, where they teach school and, with great industry, train their scholars in the knowledge of the Christian doctrine, in the frequentation of the sacraments, and in the practice of solid virtue. In spite of the hardships they endure, their efforts are attended with the greatest success." Lea was arrested soon after his arrival in Ireland, but was later released and laboured in the country until his death in 1586. Rochford, more famous than his companion, is frequently mentioned in contemporary official documents. For many years he was well known as a zealous missioner, rousing the suspicions of the English who offered a reward for his capture, dead or alive. In 1581 he had to leave Ireland and, after his escape, at least four persons were hanged for affording him shelter. Seven years later in 1588, another Irishman, a novice of the Society of Jesus named Maurice Eustace, was hanged, drawn and quartered in Dublin.

Thus almost all the Jesuit missionaries who came to Ireland in the sixteenth century were either executed or banished from the country. From 1586 to 1596 there was no Jesuit in Ireland ; but several attempts were made by Irish bishops and Princes to induce the Pope or the General of the Society of Jesus to send Irish Jesuit fathers to Ireland. This would not have happened had not the names of their predecessors been held in high veneration among the Irish. Perhaps one might wonder why the Irish Jesuit mission was not opened again until so late as 1596?

Why did Fr. Aquaviva, General of the Jesuits, hesitate so long before sending his men to Ireland? Possibly he was influenced by the sad state of affairs in England. There he would have heard in 1595 of the martyrdom of Frs. Walpole and Southwell, the imprisonment of Frs. Jones and Baldwin, and the banishment of Fr. Jasper Haywood. Already Frs. Campion, Cottam and McMahon, an Irishman, had died on the gallows at Tyburn, and Fr. Persons was in exile on the continent. The fate of the Jesuits who had come to Ireland was little better, as we have seen. No wonder then that Aquaviva hesitated. But finally, yielding to numerous appeals, he agreed to reopen the mission to Ireland.

The history of the first five Jesuits to be sent to Ireland at that time can be told briefly. Fr. Henry Fitzsimon was imprisoned in Dublin Castle two years after his arrival. A few years later, his companion Fr. James Archer was forced to go into exile, barely escaping with his life, while Fr. Christopher Holywood did not even reach Ireland, being captured in England and lodged in the tower of London. In 1602 Dominic Collins, a lay-brother, was captured in Cork and hanged. Only one of these men, Fr. Richard de la Field, temporary Superior in the place of Fr. Holywood, was able to work in comparative peace and elude the hands of the English. It was in these circumstances that Fr. Holywood undertook to establish a permanent Jesuit mission in Ireland. With what success we shall see later.

Christopher Holywood was born at Artane, near Dublin, in the year 1559, one year after Elizabeth's coronation in England. Belonging to a very old Anglo-Irish family, his father, Nicholas Holywood, was Lord of the manors of Artane, Great Holywood in Santry, and of several other estates in the counties of Dublin, Meath and Wexford. His mother was the niece of Baron Delvin and heiress-general of the fifth Baron Dunsany. Holywood could count as relations such prominent families as those of Dunsany, Fingal, Westmeath, Inchiquin and Netterville. This factor was of the utmost importance later, when these houses came under the influence of the reform movement.

Holywood was sent to the University of Padua when he was twenty years of age. Here he came into contact with the Jesuit fathers of the city, and in 1584 he entered the Society of Jesus. Having made his noviceship at Dole in France, he afterwards distinguished himself in his philosophical and theological studies. In 1593 we find him at the University of Pont-à-Mousson. The Chancellor of the University at the time was another Irishman, the renowned Fr. Richard Fleming, who had succeeded the even more famous Fr. Maldonatus in the chair of theology. For a short period Holywood was engaged in teaching philosophy in the University, after which he professed theology at Dole and later at Pont-à-Mousson again. Finally he was sent to Padua to teach Sacred Scripture. Here he took his final vows in 1597, at the

same time making the acquaintance of Robert Bellarmine. In 1598 he was in Milan. On the 10 June of the same year he wrote to the General of the Jesuits asking for special faculties for the fathers who had gone to the Irish mission. Unfortunately we do not know the circumstances of Holywood's own mission to Ireland, and when we next hear of him he is a prisoner in the Tower of London.

On the 1 May 1599, writing in the third person under the pseudonym of John Bushlock, he gave an account of his journey to England and his capture. From Rome he travelled to Switzerland, then to Spires, finally to Brussels, where the Superior of the house warned him that it was dangerous for a Jesuit to travel through Holland. Leaving Brussels, he went to Arras and then to Abbeyville, where, although disguised as a merchant, he was recognized as a Jesuit. Whereupon he left hastily for Dieppe and, " finding an obscure inn, told its owner that he was an Irishman and a subject of the Queen of England. He was returning home, but feared the English on account of the war which some of the Irish were waging against the Queen." The innkeeper stood the test valiantly and at once gave Holywood a secret room. Unable to procure a ship for Ireland, he was compelled to board an English vessel. Very soon he was suspected of being a traitor, but the inn-keeper informed the hesitant captain that " he was a merchant and no traitor." Taking no risks, Holywood abandoned the ship and travelled on another, whose captain was a French Huguenot. Having arrived at Dover, he was tendered the oath of supremacy and, of course, refused to take it. Instantly he was cast into prison and later placed in the Tower of London. As yet the English did not know that their captive was a priest, much less a Jesuit. After several futile attempts to secure his liberation, he was brought before Lord Cobham, to whom he made known his identity. He declared that he was returning to Ireland solely for the salvation of souls. To Cecil he gave the same information, but only succeeded in rousing his anger—for, according to Holywood, Cecil feared and hated the Jesuits. He issued an order that the priest be placed in close custody.

After some time Holywood was offered his release, if he would take an oath to persuade the Irish that it was unlawful to resist the royal power in Ireland. He refused the offer and was transferred from the Gatehouse prison to Wisbeck Castle. The Superior of the English mission, Fr. Henry Garnet, who in a few years was to die a martyr for the Faith, reported in May 1600 that Holywood helped to comfort the other Jesuits at Wisbeck and edified all while he was in the Gatehouse. Like his comrade, Fr. Fitzsimon, who at this time was closely confined in Dublin Castle, he must occasionally have endured the greatest privations, for we know that the prisoners were not even provided with beds to sleep on. Like Fitzsimon, too, while a prisoner, he held many disputations with the Protestant ministers.

On the death of Elizabeth in April 1603, Holywood was removed from Wisbeck to Framlington prison in Suffolk. Very soon after this time—the date is uncertain—he was sent into perpetual banishment. He proceeded to Belgium, whence he wrote to his General begging either to be permitted to return to Ireland or to be sent back to his own province at Dole. The General granted the former request, and on the 16 March 1604 Holywood landed in Ireland. He was again appointed Superior of the mission, and for the next twenty-three years filled that office with remarkable success. The uncertainty of the times did not favour the fostering of a new mission ; but, thanks to the prudence and courage of Fr. Holywood, rapid strides were made and successful reports poured in from every side. Holywood himself was in constant danger of capture and had to change his abode frequently. Writing to the General of the Jesuits, he says : " I have not been able to write since Easter, as I was obliged to go to remote parts, in order to keep clear of the more than usually troublesome presence of our adversaries. In this retreat I devoted myself to help a very extensive diocese, and I did so at the invitation of its ruler. With our assistance he has set his province in very good order and has given it regulations adapted to the times." In a letter written about the same time, Fr. Wise, a Jesuit living in Waterford, says : " Our pilot, Sacrobosco (Holywood), was fiercely pursued, but escaped ; he is accustomed to these storms . . ."

All through the first half of the reign of James I the Irish priests and especially the Jesuits were continually harassed by the government. Thus it was almost impossible for Holywood to set up an organized mission of even the most flexible nature. He had not yet founded a single fixed abode for his men. For almost twenty years after the arrival of Fr. Archer in 1596, the Jesuits lived in private houses, or stayed with a bishop or priest in a remote part of the country, and were of course always disguised as laymen. In spite of these hardships I think it is not untrue to say that their success in Ireland was hardly excelled by that of even the most famous Jesuit missions of the day. For all that they are scarcely mentioned in the ordinary school text-books, and in the histories of the counter-reformation they find no place.

The story of the Irish Jesuit mission between 1604 and 1626, that is during Holywood's period of leadership, is one of intermittent persecution and of constant insecurity. Externally the mission had no organization. It is true that the letters of the time frequently make reference to " residences " ; but the name " residence " was loosely applied to a large district in which a number of Jesuits worked under one superior, but did not necessarily live in the same or in any fixed abode. Thus the residence of Galway comprised all the Jesuits who were working in Connaught, living from hand to mouth in private houses, but under the supervision of the same superior who usually resided in Galway. The

Irish Jesuits did not establish their first college in the modern sense until 1619—at Kilkenny—and they had no noviceship for almost another thirty years.

Internally, however, the mission was remarkably well organized, and to this factor more than to anything else its success can be attributed. All the year round, the Jesuits travelled through the country ministering and preaching to the people, hurrying from place to place as their identity and place of residence became known to the authorities—at one time preaching in the open air to a group of poverty-stricken people, at another uniting chieftains and their ladies who were at daggers drawn, encouraging all alike to remain steadfast in the practice of their Faith. Everywhere they went the people received them with a never failing welcome. Often they made their confessions on the roadside as the Jesuits passed through the district. Not once do we hear of a betrayal or an act of disloyalty, at a time when treachery meant money and fidelity meant hardship and penury.

In 1619, Fr. Holywood wrote a long letter to his General describing the missionary activities of his men. By this time he had established residences in Dublin, Kilkenny, Waterford, Cashel, Clonmel, Cork, Limerick, and one house in Connaught. The first school of the mission was founded in Kilkenny in 1619. After speaking of the work of the Jesuits in the country, he goes on to say: " There are so few priests in the Kingdom that one priest has often charge of four or five parishes. To help them, our Fathers go from village to village by day and by night, according to the necessities of the faithful, hearing confessions, giving communion, baptizing, attending the dying, preaching, teaching the catechism, and promoting the interests of peace." Down in Cork and Kerry we hear of a " successful mission, which they reached by difficult ways, through robbers and Protestant foes, over bogs and mountains, often being without food or drink or a bed. They approached in disguise, converted, and prepared for death nearly all the forty-seven pirates captured on the southern coast . . ." Fr. Galway, a Cork Jesuit, visited the islands north of Scotland and ministered to the faithful there, many of whom had not seen a priest for years. In the north of Ireland, Fr. Robert Nugent gave a running mission over a sixty-mile area. These few examples are typical of the work that was being done all over the country. At this time there were about forty Jesuits in Ireland and all were engaged in active missionary work.

Before I conclude this short sketch of the life of Fr. Holywood, I shall refer briefly to his literary work; for besides being an outstanding organizer, he was also an author of no small merit. After his release from prison in 1603 he went to the continent and in the following year published at Brussels two works entitled " Defensio Concilii Tridentini et sententiae Bellarmini de auctoritate Vulgatae Editionis " (a book of four hundred

nd sixteen pages) and " Libellus de investiganda vera et visibili Christi Ecclesia," a much smaller treatise. It is interesting to note that James Jssher, in theological lectures which he delivered in Dublin in 1609, quoted Holywood's " Defensio Concilii Tridentini " thirty times. His econd work he wrote while in prison in England to help the Protestant ninisters and learned men who came to him for advice. In 1604 also ie wrote another work entitled " Magna supplicia a persecutionibus liquot Catholicorum in Hibernia sumpta," which remained unpublished ıntil Fr. Edmund Hogan edited it in the " Irish Ecclesiastical Record ")f 1873. In it he gives an account of the fate that befell many of the eligious persecutors in Ireland between the years 1577 and 1604, and nds with a eulogy of the Irish Catholics who, despite every persecution, could not be induced to give up the Faith. After his return to Ireland n 1604, Holywood had no further opportunity for literary work.

In February 1622, Holywood was reported to be in bad health and ınable to write. Two years later he founded the first Jesuit residence n the north of Ireland. When next we hear of him in 1626, he is still Superior of the mission ; but, worn out by the labours and hardships)f twenty-three years of missionary activity, he died at the end of the year. It was to his prudence and zeal, in a time fraught with the greatest difficulties, that the General Fr. Vitelleschi attributed the success of the mission. On his arrival in Ireland there were only five Jesuits in the country ; at his death they numbered forty-two and had nine residences. Until late in the second decade of the seventeenth century, the Jesuits were usually attached to the houses of the gentry, whence they made frequent incursions into the country to give missions and administer the sacraments. After that, through the enterprise of Fr. Holywood, they obtained residences of their own, some of which had a community to eight members, while none had less than three. Thus during his period of office as Superior, the Irish Jesuit mission was stabilized and became a province of the Order in every respect save in name.

James Corboy

REVIEWS

History

LOUGH DERG : St. Patrick's Purgatory. By Alice Curtayne. London and Dublin : Burns Oates. 1944. 7s. 6d.

Alice Curtayne has given us many pleasant books in the past, but I do not think she has ever written a book that will give pleasure to so many as this short account of Ireland's most famous pilgrimage. She herself has made the pilgrimage and has set forth her experiences in the last two chapters of this book—so personally and yet so simply that we are brought to the very heart of what is a most characteristic development in the Catholic piety of twentieth-century Ireland. As a writer who began with the Middle Ages and Dante and St. Catherine of Siena, she sees Lough Derg in its historic background ; and her intellect has helped her to satisfy some of the many questions that must occur to the devoutest pilgrim. *Fides quaerens intellectum :* Saint Anselm would have given his approval to this book.

The chapters that deal with the modern history of the pilgrimage—that is, from the time of the Protestant seizure of this hallowed site in 1632—call for little comment. We have here an amazingly dramatic story. The Irish people, clinging to their traditional pieties and penance in defiance of the government and without heeding the scoffs of the " reformed " clergy, persisted in finding their way to Lough Derg and its sanctuary, even though Bishop Spottiswoode and his Protestant officials had destroyed every vestige of the buildings which had formerly marked the site of the famous cave. Quotation after quotation from writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—some of them from Catholic sources, some of them from sources that were bitterly hostile to the traditional faith of the people—brings home to Irishmen how much their forefathers endured to maintain the traditions of their race. These quotations will be found more fully in Sir Shane Leslie's admirable volume, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory,* which was published by Burns Oates and Washbourne in 1932. But Mr. Leslie (as he then was) was naturally reluctant to tell the full story of his own family's connection with the famous shrine. Mrs. Rynne (to give Alice Curtayne her married name) devotes a whole chapter to the law-suits of 1881 and 1917, in which the Leslie family sought but failed to assert their legal right to ownership of the island (Station Island) on which the modern Basilica now stands. That chapter is among the most interesting in the whole book, and ends most fittingly with the happy reconciliation which is symbolised by the late Sir John Leslie's gift of a Murillo Madonna to the Basilica. Mgr. Keown, who has recently surrendered his charge as Prior of the Sanctuary to another priest of the Clogher diocese, is very rightly the hero of this story.

Mrs. Rynne has gone back to the distant origins of this famous pilgrimage, and has devoted her first two chapters to the traditional association of Saint Patrick with Lough Derg ; and to the problem that arises from the existence of two islands (Saints' Island and Station Island) on this small lake, both having undoubted historic associations with the pilgrimage. I am in full agreement with the main thesis of this book : that the constant and often heroic fidelity of the Irish people to this ancient sanctuary is of itself the best possible argument in favour of its authentic claim to antiquity. None the less, the fact must be faced that there is absolutely no written record (in the Irish annals or in any other historical source) that can be cited in proof of the existence of this pilgrimage before the twelfth century of the Christian era. If tradition is correct in asserting that Patrick prayed and did penance at Lough Derg, that tradition lacks all supporting evidence for some eight centuries—beyond the one important fact that Patrick, almost certainly, was in this neighbourhood during his missionary labours. Critical historians who refuse to give credence to any but authentic documentary evidence are entitled to withhold their assent.

Lanigan (whom Mrs. Rynne is inclined to under-estimate) was of their number; and there have been many others. Those for whom tradition, apart from documentary evidence, is of high value will hold a different view.

We are on firmer ground once we come to the twelfth century, and I should like to make some comments on the third and fourth chapters of this book, which deal with the pilgrimage during the medieval period. Mrs. Rynne, quite rightly, passes rapidly over some of the fantastic tales that were current about St. Patrick's Purgatory in medieval legend. She has attempted to tell the story of the pilgrimage as it is known to us from the narratives of various pilgrims.

Mrs. Rynne gives the dates 1131-34 as the probable limits of time within which the Augustinian Canons came to Lough Derg from the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul at Armagh. These dates are too early by some years. St. Malachy was still struggling valiantly against formidable opposition in Armagh at this time, and there is no proof that he had succeeded in bringing the new Canons Regular to Armagh by 1137, when he resigned the primatial see in favour of Gelasius (Gille mac Liag). I do not think that the foundation at Lough Derg can be much later than 1140, but I doubt if it was earlier than that date. Mrs. Rynne's confident statement, " It is certain that the Augustinians were securely in possession of Lough Derg sanctuary by the year 1135 ", seems to be derived from an unsupported statement in Sir Shane Leslie's volume.

The first certainly authentic figure in the story of the pilgrimage is the Knight Owen; and the little we know of his life is to be found in Henry of Saltry's treatise *De Purgatorio S. Patricii*. This treatise was first published by Colgan in his *Trias Thaumaturga*; it can be found more conveniently in Vol. 180 of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. Mrs. Rynne has confused some of the most illuminating details in this story. A closer study of Henry's narrative confirms its authenticity on every point, and thus gives added strength to the earliest known witness on behalf of the Purgatory.

Henry of Saltry (or to be more exact, Brother H. of Saltry, for he has given us no more than the first letter of his name, which may perhaps have been Hugh or Herbert or Haimo) was a Cistercian monk of the abbey of Sawtre, in Huntingdonshire. He wrote his treatise after 1185, for he mentions by name an Irish bishop named Florentianus, whom he describes as " a nephew of the third St. Patrick and a companion of St. Malachy," and who told Henry that he knew the Purgatory well, for it lay within his diocese. There is no bishop of Clogher whose name fits this description, but there are very strong grounds for identifying this Florentianus with Floirint Ua Cerbhallain, who died as bishop of Tir-Eoghain (*espuc Thire hEogain* or *espuc Ceneoil Eogain*) in 1230, in the forty-sixth year of his pontificate and the eighty-sixth of his age. He was thus the immediate successor of Amhlaibh Ua Muiredaigh, who died as bishop of Cenel Eoghain in 1185. Since Henry of Saltry says expressly that he spoke to this bishop, who told him that the pilgrimage lay within his diocese, it follows that Lough Derg lay within what we now call the diocese of Derry in the twelfth century.

Henry of Saltry had first heard of the Knight Owen from Gilbert, a monk who had spent two and a half years with Owen in Ireland some years after the knight's experience in the Cave. The story which Gilbert told to Henry of Saltry is thus the knight's own story at one remove from the original narrator. Gilbert was a Cistercian monk, and Henry calls his monastery *Ludense coenobium*. Mrs. Rynne has been misled into identifying this monastery as Ludlow in Shropshire, where there never was a Cistercian abbey. The true identification is Louth Park in Lincolnshire, one of the earliest Cistercian foundations in England. It was founded in 1139, and its first abbot was Gervasius, a well-known figure in early Cistercian history. Henry of Saltry names Gervasius as Gilbert's abbot, so that his story is here certainly correct, and we get a date not earlier than 1140. Gilbert told Henry that the Knight

Owen had served under King Stephen of England, whose first bid for the succession to Henry I was made in 1135 and who died in 1154. Owen had served as a knight in Stephen's armed forces for many years, when he was seized with remorse for his many sins and made his way to Lough Derg as a penitent and pilgrim.

It is important to note here (though Mrs. Rynne has missed the point) that Owen was certainly an Irishman. The fact is expressly stated by Henry of Saltry in his narrative. Some years later, when he returned to Ireland as Gilbert's companion, he was sent expressly as an interpreter. Abbot Gervasius had ordered Gilbert to go to Ireland and prepare a new foundation that had been offered to his community. Gilbert complained that he did not know a word of the language spoken in that country. King Stephen heard of his complaint and said at once: "With God's help I can give you an excellent interpreter." Calling Owen, he bade him go to Ireland with the monk and stay there with him. The Irish language, whether it be Old Irish, Early Middle Irish or Modern Irish, is not an easy language. If the Knight Owen knew no more of it than he might have picked up on his pilgrimage to Lough Derg a few years earlier, he could never have been chosen as *optimus interpres*.

It seems clear to me that Owen was an Irish soldier of fortune who had campaigned under King Stephen, was smitten with remorse, went first as a pilgrim to Lough Derg, then to the Holy Land, and finally came back to Stephen's service until the day when he was ordered to go to Ireland as Gilbert's companion. The fact of his pilgrimage is clear proof that Lough Derg was already famous by the middle of the twelfth century. During the next two years he told Gilbert what he had seen and suffered at Lough Derg. Later—how many years later we do not know—Gilbert was again in England and told the story to the monks of Sawtre. Henry was interested, but not convinced. He questioned two Irish abbots who were on their way through England, most probably to a Cistercian chapter at Citeaux. They confirmed the story; and finally Henry had an opportunity of questioning Bishop Florence of Tir-Eoghain. This was after 1185 and shortly before (*nuper*) the date at which he put the whole story in writing for the edification of posterity.

The contemporary statutes of the Cistercian Order, which have recently been published, make it plain that there was much coming and going between England, Ireland and France during the last quarter of the twelfth century; usually in connection with the annual Cistercian chapters. One other famous Cistercian legend—the apparition of St. Bernard after his death with a stain on his white robe, which he told the brethren was due to his denial of the Immaculate Conception—was first brought back from France to England by travelling Irish monks. Everything fits so well in Henry's story that the main facts of the Knight Owen's tale gain in credibility. I have tried to identify the Cistercian foundation in which Gilbert took part before the death of King Stephen in 1154. The evidence of contemporary Cistercian documents makes it almost certain that we must identify this monastery as the abbey of Baltinglass.

The thirteenth-century Cistercian Annals of St. Mary's, Dublin, give the year 1151 as the date of the foundation of Baltinglass, and Sir James Ware tells us that Dermot MacMurrough was its reputed founder. "Diarmait na n-Gall" is more likely than any other Irish king of this century to have brought English monks across the Irish Sea to found a monastery within his kingdom. Just fifty years later (1202) we know from the published Cistercian statutes that the monastery of Basingwerk, near Chester, put in a claim—at a time when Anglo-Norman prelates were everywhere seeking to oust Irishmen from Irish sees and abbeys—to be considered founders of Baltinglass. They maintained at the general chapter of Citeaux that their monks had begun a foundation on this site, and that monks from Mellifont had then come in as later intruders. The general chapter considered their claim and decided that

Mellifont, which had held the foundation for the past fifty years, should continue to hold it. The date brings us back to 1151. Gilbert, as we have seen, was a monk of Louth Park; but he became abbot of Basingwerk at some date after his Irish adventure. His personal connection with the monastery may have encouraged the monks of Basingwerk to urge their claim in 1202. The Knight Owen disappears from the story after his two and a half years of labour at the new foundation. "The monk Gilbert was cellarer," Henry tells us, "and the knight was his procurator in all matters abroad and his devoted servant and most faithful interpreter. He then took the habit of a monk and lived a holy religious life, as the same Gilbert testified." Did the Knight Owen die as a humble Cistercian monk in Baltinglass? Keating tells us that Devorgilla eloped with Dermot MacMurrough in 1152 whilst her husband, Tigernan Ua Ruairc, was absent as a pilgrim at Lough Derg. Medieval history has its shady as well as its edifying side!

Little is known of the pilgrimage until the end of the thirteenth century. Roger of Wendover included the knight's story in his *Flores Historiarum*, and Matthew Paris copied it from Roger. The Italian chronicler, Jacobus de Voragine, included it in his *Legenda Aurea* about the year 1275, and Mrs. Rynne—who knows her Dante well—discusses the problem of Dante's indebtedness to the famous tale. She tells briefly the story of the Hungarian knight, George Crissaphan, who visited the Cave in 1353. I have discussed this episode more fully in an article which I contributed to STUDIES in December, 1935, but which has escaped Mrs. Rynne's notice. It is a pity, for she would have found there that George's message to Archbishop Fitz-Ralph of Armagh is very closely related to the known history of Drogheda in that year. The Primate's urgent letter to the Hungarian pilgrim, begging him not to leave Ireland until he has reported what he claimed to have heard in the Cave, is one of the most human documents in the long story of St. Patrick's Purgatory. Archbishop FitzRalph had heard something of these messages, and he had plainly got the fright of his life.

The only other point on which I wish to comment is the very puzzling episode of the Dutch pilgrim's visit to Lough Derg in 1494 and the subsequent closing of the Cave on orders from Pope Alexander VI. Mrs. Rynne tells this story somewhat fully, and I think she has offered as fair an interpretation as any other known to me of this curious episode. The Dutch pilgrim plainly made himself a nuisance to the prior at Lough Derg, the bishop of the diocese and the prince of the territory. The prince must have been Mac Craith of Termon-Magrath and thus an ancestor of the famous Myler Magrath. The prior, the bishop and the prince were all agreed on one point: that the Dutch pilgrim could not be admitted to the Cave unless he paid the customary fees to all three parties. The pilgrim refused, and pleaded that he had no money, being a poor pilgrim for Christ's sake; and added that, even if he had money, he would not incur simony by thus buying a spiritual favour. The end of the story is that he had his way, after much stiff bargaining in all three interviews. The prior handed him over to the tender mercies of the sacristan, who tied him to a rope and let him down a pit which does not correspond with any other known description of the Cave. It is hardly too cynical to suggest that the prior and sacristan decided that, since the pilgrim would not pay the fee, he might very well spend a chilly night at the bottom of some convenient pit. Next morning he was pulled up, very much the worse for wear. He went straight to Rome, there to denounce the simoniacal practices of the clergy at Lough Derg.

Who was the Bishop of Clogher who plays his part in this disedifying story? Mrs. Rynne, who notes that the see of Clogher was vacant at this time, suggests that the pilgrim went to the Italian Primate Octavian at Armagh. But the pilgrim's narrative, which has been printed by the Bollandists as an Appendix to their account of St. Patrick in the *Acta Sanctorum*, states expressly that he was sent by the prior

ad diocesanum. I think there can be no doubt that he was sent to no less a person than Cathal óg Mac Maghnusa, the compiler of the Annals of Ulster, who acted as vicar-general (*fear ionaid*) of the bishop during the vacancy from 1483 to his own death in 1498, and who was also dean of Loch Erne. This detail is of some importance, for it is Cathal Mac Maghnusa who tells us, in very cryptic language, what happened at Lough Derg in 1497: "The Cave of the Purgatory of St. Patrick on Lough Dearg was broken this year by the (Franciscan) Guardian of Donegal and by the representatives of the bishop in the deanery of Lough Erne (*le lucht-inaid espuic a n-deglantacht Locha h-Eirne*), by authority of the Pope, about the feast of St. Patrick of this year; it being understood by everyone in general from the History of the Knight and other old books that this was not the Purgatory that Patrick got from God, although they were every one visiting it."

Mrs. Rynne follows Sir Shane Leslie in the view, which has much probability, that this formal ceremony of destruction took place on Saints' Island, not on Station Island; and that the pilgrimage was resumed, almost without interruption, on the more ancient site. There can be no doubt at all that the pilgrimage continued throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A French pilgrim came to Lough Derg in 1516, and the Papal Nuncio accredited to the court of the youthful Henry VIII visited it in 1517. Alexander VI's action can hardly be explained as due to any other cause than the complaints of the Dutch pilgrim (and perhaps many others) that the local clergy and laity of Lough Derg were exploiting the pilgrimage as a financial investment in that period of lax discipline. The part played by Primate Octavian is, I think, very different from that suggested in this book.

Octavian's own register, supported by the evidence of contemporary Roman documents, makes it certain that Cathal Mac Maghnusa was in opposition both to the Pope in Rome (who had provided a Friar Minor from Munster to the see of Clogher in 1484) and to Primate Octavian in Armagh, who recognised Bishop Edmund de Courci as the lawful Bishop of Clogher from 1486 onwards. It was customary for the Primate as well as the Bishop of Clogher to issue letters of protection for the medieval pilgrims to St. Patrick's Purgatory. There is no mention of the Primate in the Dutch pilgrim's narrative, and the Primate is conspicuously absent from the ceremonial destruction of the Cave in 1497. I think there is one simple explanation for these two curious facts. Cathal Mac Maghnusa was acting as sole diocesan authority in Clogher during all these years. He was not at all likely to send the Dutch pilgrim to Primate Octavian in 1494, and he seems to have decided to act alone in 1497. I should very much like to know whether Primate Octavian had been consulted by Alexander VI in the interval between the pilgrim's visit and the formal condemnation of the pilgrimage. But we cannot know everything in medieval history. A. G.

MEASGRA I gCUIMHNE MHICÍL Uí CHLÉIRIGH. Miscellany of historical and linguistic studies in honour of Brother Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, O.F.M., Chief of the Four Masters. Edited by Father Sylvester O'Brien, O.F.M. Dublin: Assisi Press. 1944. Pp. xviii + 243. 21s.

It is peculiarly fitting that the tercentenary of the death of Mícheál Ó Cléirigh should be commemorated by a miscellany. For the great collection of works which he edited may be best described as a miscellany. Prose and poetry, history and legend, lives of saint and king—these he collected from the four quarters of Ireland and, with unremitting care and unwearied patience, copied them and collated and corrected them. It needs little stretch of the imagination to see him travelling the roads from the house of a professor of poetry to that of a professor of law or history, borrowing a manuscript where he could, copying where the jealous owners would not part with their treasure (and who would blame them?), and returning from time

o time with a *tiachóg* full of good things to deposit in safety. They were troubled imes in which Ó Cléirigh worked, but the compilation of this present miscellany oo can have been no easy task. Paper for printing is rapidly approaching the degree f scarcity of vellum in Ó Cléirigh's day ; our lines of communication with Celtic cholars on the Continent are even more difficult than his were ; and while he ould at least look at and copy Irish manuscripts, the scholar of to-day finds it mpossible in these siren-punctuated times to do even that.

In such difficult circumstances the reverend editor of this book is to be congratulated on his enterprise and on the degree of success which it has attained. There are gaps indeed which one would like to have seen filled. Tastes differ, however, and there will always be found critics of such a work as this who complain that there are omissions. On the whole, the linguistic section of the book is the weakest both in quality and in quantity. In the main, of course, this is due to the inaccessibility of manuscripts, but something more could have been done with the material at our disposal in printed form. About one-third of the articles have been written in Irish, well-written in most cases, but in a few articles greater care might have been taken with the style and even with the grammar.

A review of such a book must inevitably take the form of a selection, both for reasons of space and for reasons of competency in the reviewer to judge of the merits of such widely differing subjects. Pride of place in the book has been rightly given to Professor R. Dudley Edwards' " Church and State in the Ireland of Míchél Ó Cléirigh." This admirable and scholarly article gives us the historical background to the work of the Four Masters. From it we form an idea of the times they lived in, and in particular how a period of comparative peace and toleration permitted them to do so much work in the years 1632-1636. (I say comparative peace, for it was during that time that St. Patrick's Purgatory was utterly destroyed). We may remind ourselves, too, that it was during those years that Keating was writing his " Three Shafts of Death " and his " History ".

Father Canice Mooney, O.F.M., treats of the same period from the Franciscan point of view. His necessarily brief account of the work of his Order in that breathing space between two persecutions makes one wish for a modern and critical history of the Franciscan Order in Ireland, an Order to which we owe not only the preservation of so much in Irish history and literature, but also, under God, the preservation of the Faith in many parts of the country.

The long list printed here by Father Brendan Jennings, O.F.M., of Irish students who attended the University of Louvain between the years 1548-1794 (with some big gaps) might seem at first sight to make dull reading. On the contrary, it is full of interest both from the historical and from the linguistic viewpoint. Famous names appear on it, but the great majority are making here their one brief bow on the stage of history. As might be expected, Anglo-Irish names predominate in the earlier years when the effects of the Counter-Reformation were more confined to the towns, but as the years go on Irish names become more and more frequent. In the beginning, too, the students were in the main content to be inscribed as *Hibernus*, but in the later years it became the general custom to give either their county of origin or their diocese. From a study of these latter we may gather that there was hardly a county in the land that did not send its quota—with, I should say, the northern counties most frequently represented. The Registrar of the University, or whoever it was who inscribed the names, seems to have had great difficulty with these " barbarous " surnames. Some are fairly easy to recognise, such as La Verty, Karneus and Mochodonochus. Others require a certain amount of cerebration. Examples might be Ociel (O'Sheil ?) and the seemingly hebraic Nathianham, which resolves itself into the prosaic Nottingham. Similarly, the ancient name Solman is no other than the good Irish O'Sullivan—a change

which we have seen going in the opposite direction in recent years. But what are we to make of da Ohirran and Machuaynick (which Father Jennings tentatively equates with a Magruairke in another list), and of the intriguing Guillelmus Bromwecz from Dungarvan? While the biographical details provided in the list are by no means as full as those of the Salamanca list edited by the late Rev. Denis J. O'Doherty in *Archivium Hibernicum*, they do throw a very interesting light on a phase of Irish history of which until recently we have known very little. Father Jennings's notes are most helpful and illuminating.

In a careful and well-documented study, Father John Brady discusses the career of Father Christopher Cusack, who founded the Irish College at Douai in 1594. He gives us a vivid picture of the daily life of the College and of the dangers that continually threatened its existence: the relentless attentions of English spies, the chronic shortness of funds and, unfortunately, internal dissensions among the students. As at Louvain, the earlier students were in the main drawn from the Pale; but, as time went on, the proportion of country students increased and, on more than one occasion, jealousies and provincial rivalry nearly brought the College to an early end. It is interesting to note a spy's report that in those early days, when Barnewalls and Prestons and Rochforts and Plunkets "besides many merchants' sons from Dublin and Drogheda" predominated among the students, "the rebel rout in Ireland whom they call the Catholic army and Tyrone by name is daily prayed for there." He also laments that "they all speak Irish, and it is to be feared that these young gentlemen, the offspring of the colonies of the English conquest, may become in language and disposition fermented with the ancient hate of Irish to English which is so great that I know of no disputing among brutes greater." It is another example of the fact that the "fair hills of Ireland" are greenest when seen with an exile's eye.

In an interesting article Tomás de Bhaldraithe discusses the origins of eighteenth century *aisling* poems, in particular the allegorical poems. He rejects the theory that the *aisling* owed its origin to continental influence; by an enlightening selection of extracts from the early literature down to the extinction of the Bardic schools, he shows that all the elements which were adduced to prove non-native origin existed in fact in the earlier prose and poetry. But would the eighteenth century poets have been familiar with such early texts as the author quotes, stories which had not been adopted in oral tradition? Or would they have understood the Irish of those texts had they come across them? And granted some early influence, the question still remains as to the reasons for such a sudden and widespread growth in that century. Doubtless there were historical reasons for the development of such an "escapist" genre of poetry; perhaps too the conservatism of the Bardic schools may have passed on to their successors, the Courts of Poetry, so that once the type was established by such a master as Ó Rathaile his followers would see no reason for variation. But some other influence must have been at work too. Whether it was of native or continental origin still remains undecided.

One fault, if fault it is, which I have noted in the course of the book is that far too many of the authors seem to be afflicted with what might be called *kakoethes commentandi*. In a scholarly work of this kind notes are, of course, essential, as references or authorities in historical articles, or as elucidating a difficulty when one is editing a text. But there has been a tendency in modern Irish scholarship of late to heap up notes and still more notes, so that in some extreme cases the text is almost smothered under the evidences of its editor's erudition. One is reminded of "one half-pennyworth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack." It may be a reaction from an earlier type of editor who disdained all notes. But let us have moderation! A footnote should contain as much matter and only as much as is necessary to explain the textual point to which it refers. Other irrelevant matter

which an editor may uncover in his researches on the point should be self-denyingly suppressed and kept for future publication in some more appropriate place. I noticed a small number of misprints in the course of the book, particularly in the pagination of the table of contents. S. Ó C.

SOUL OF RUSSIA. By Helen Iswolsky. London: Sheed and Ward. 1944. 10s. 6d. net.

THE recent recovery by revolutionary Russia of more than its old importance in European and world politics gives a very much increased interest to every attempt to explain the mind and aspirations of a people which has always been mysterious to the West. Miss Iswolsky is the daughter of the man who was Minister for Foreign Affairs to Tsar Nicholas II from 1906 to 1910 and his Ambassador in Paris during the first World War. In a moving book, *Light before Dusk*, published in 1942, she has told of her conversion (a word whose inexactness she herself emphasises) to the Western Church. She is thus well qualified for her task of interpretation, and it may safely be said that this is her best book so far. It is partly a history of the Russian Church, told with great skill and charm, but it is also something more, since it deals briefly with almost every great modern Russian writer, the only exception being Turgenev. The well-chosen illustrations add greatly to the interest of the text, and there is a really useful bibliography to each chapter, in which recent critical work gets pride of place. A few slight inaccuracies are not a serious blemish; the spelling is, as often in books dealing with Russia, a little chaotic; one has one's doubts about *Kalita* meaning " a purse " in Greek (p. 15) and Pozzo di Borgo (p. 108) was surely not a French Ambassador.

Miss Iswolsky's purpose is of course not pedantic accuracy, but spiritual commentary, as her title indicates. Russia, with its difficult language and strange tradition, is a testing subject for interpretation. Two historical circumstances have combined to cut it off from Western experience. One is the fact that it took its religion, not from Rome, as did the rest of Europe, but from Constantinople. The other is that it did not undergo the profound series of shocks and changes which we know as the Renaissance and the Reformation. Its recent subjection to a revolutionary movement of the Western post-Renaissance origin has not, as Miss Iswolsky convincingly argues, so far at least been able to produce any very deep effects, and all the signs are of a return to its own long and rich tradition, with, of course, many modifications.

This is the tradition whose essential features are excellently sketched in Miss Iswolsky's book. She begins with the first Varangian (not VarEngian, as she spells it) kingdom of Kiev and with the conversion to Christianity, then describes the Tartar invasion, the recovery, the rise of the Romanovs, the great " Raskol " schism (which was the only Russian counterpart to the Reformation upheaval), the enlightened despotism of Peter the Great, and its sequels down to the present day. Each phase of the story is illustrated by a brief but always telling account of some leading figure in it. Of these accounts probably the best are those of Pushkin, Chaadaiev, Soloviev, and Blok (whose name Miss Iswolsky insists on spelling Block). Irish readers will take a special interest in the well-told story of Father Petcherin, who spent twenty years in Limerick as a Redemptorist and twenty-three years as chaplain to the Mater Hospital in Dublin. M. T.

MADAME ELIZABETH OF FRANCE. By M. V. Woodgate. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 1943. pp. x+182. 6s.

IN Paris 150 years ago royalists and other " traitors " were summoned before the Revolutionary Tribunal daily for a perfunctory trial and condemnation. " What is your name? " they asked a certain noble lady whose turn came on the 10th of May.

" I am called Elizabeth Marie of France. I am the sister of Louis XVI and the aunt of Louis XVII, your King," was her proud reply. That same day she was guillotined in the Place de la Révolution. She gets but little mention in the history-books of those terrible times ; but in this welcome biography the story of her short life is briefly told and her fine character is finely portrayed by the skilled pen of Miss Woodgate.

Two chapters cover the first 25 years of Princess Elizabeth's life—two chapters worth comparing with the remaining ten. For it is very interesting to go back for a while into the lost world of the palace at Versailles and the house at Montreuil and to consider what there was in the progressively happy development of the princess which prepared her for the declining fortunes of her last five years. Freedom riches and many friends, which she had then possessed, were all lost to her as she kept her resolve to remain with her brother the king to the end. She had delighted in all the luxury that her royal birth had brought her. Yet we cannot fairly regard her life as a flight from the Hound of Heaven culminating in " Thou hast . . . . smitten me to my knee " ; for she was deeply religious throughout. She was gentle and unselfish ; she found her vocation, not in the cloister nor in marriage, but in being an example and a support to her family as the House of Bourbon entered into its dark and bloody eclipse. It was through her that an Irish priest came to prepare the king for his death.

While these few lines are being written (August 1944) the press reports that the Allied Armies have reached Versailles, a fact which underlines Miss Woodgate's statement that the background of the life of Madame Elizabeth is " comparable in many ways to the world as it is to-day." (There are differences too : the patient endurance shown by city populations during the present war is in striking contrast to the uncontrolled savagery of the mob of Revolutionary Paris ; and one hopes that this contrast will remain). In treating of this background Miss Woodgate has not chronicled the chief events of the Revolution and the Terror ; she has skilfully chosen and described only those events which would seem to have affected the circumstances and the thoughts of the subject of her biography. In sympathetic vein she has given colourful prominence to details which would not have impressed a mere man such as Louis XVI, and she has included some impressive quotations from Madame Elizabeth's letters—telling of apprehensions and religious convictions unrevealed by a royally calm and dignified demeanour.

By eschewing what modern depraved taste relishes as spicy the author has given us a book that can be highly recommended even as a prize for schoolchildren. This latest addition to her popular biographies is characterized by the pleasing style and smooth-running narrative we have been led to expect. Young and old will find in it both delightful reading and an example of noble fortitude in bearing greater privations and hardships than the present war has brought on themselves.

B. L.

Studies in Poetry

GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS. A Study of poetic idiosyncrasy in relation to poetic tradition. By W. H. Gardner. London : Secker and Warburg. 1944. pp. 304. 25s.

People in England have been expressing surprise that the Hopkins centenary should have come so soon. We were better prepared for it, by the passing of most of those who remembered the eccentric Professor of Greek in old University College. But as a poet Hopkins is recent. Robert Bridges kept back his manuscripts until 1918, and the first edition caused little stir. Acclamation came only with the second edition in 1930 and the publication of letters and notebooks a few years later. Hopkins is a great poet—or a great minor poet, for he has been called both—of only fourteen years standing.

Critics have lamented that Hopkins wrote so little—for which they sometimes laid the blame on his Jesuit life and rule. But it is not to be forgotten that other artistic and half-artistic interests—music, drawing, languages, aesthetic inquiries and speculations—competed for the spare time of a short life. It was not just lack of time that made him write little when others were writing too much; it was a sense of craft and quality. His work is so intense that one might wonder rather that there is so much of it. Mr. Gardner observes that "one thing common to all great poets is an almost exclusive devotion to their art." Is it? Dante and Milton were politicians; Shakespeare was an actor and "man of the theatre"; and in the rank below to which Hopkins belongs the poets are mostly something else besides poets. In truth the whole-time poet was chiefly a Victorian phenomenon, and the professionalism of Tennyson and Browning did them more harm than good. The Victorian verse that is most readable now is that of the amateurs and part-time men, Arnold and Clough, and of course Hopkins. This Jesuit was a live man, with a self and a soul to express, not a mere spectator and melodious commentator. As Mr. Gardner puts it, "the personality of Hopkins found in its delimited experience a medium of considerable resistance through which it could at times beat up to heights unattempted before in English poetry."

Hopkins's matter is the life of a Catholic convert in nineteenth-century England, the protest against materialism and sin, the longing for a Second Spring. It is the life of the priest, the preoccupation with souls in charge (*Felix Randal*, *The Bugler*) and with his own soul-struggle. Above all, it is the last of these. There are poems of pure religious joy. On the other hand, the "terrible sonnets" tell with Lear-like intensity of a dark night of the soul, a winter world of the spirit. Elsewhere, it is a continual "Dialogue between the Resolved Soul and Created Beauty." This might be the title of many of Hopkins's poems, but in fact it belongs to Marvell, one of that seventeenth-century school with which Hopkins has close affinities.

He has a capacity of sensuous perception and delight comparable to Keats's; in *Pied Beauty* it is applied to what is called "nature"; in *Harry Ploughman*, *The Windhover*, etc., to power and grace and movement in man, beast, bird. Keats, starting from mere description, sought a philosophy. Hopkins had a philosophy and a theology all the time. They taught him to glimpse rather than dwell; not to close his eyes, but to see the thing and pass from it with a swiftness that enhanced its preciousness. Mr. Gardner seems to give his attitude truly: "The enjoyment of beauty is a sacrament, and implies obligation in an act of sacrifice, the controlling of the sensibility by the disciplined will: 'Give beauty back . . . back to God, beauty's self and beauty's giver.'" In the Scotist principle of individuation he found what justified his attachment to poetry and "swayed his spirits to peace"; for it assured him that, in seizing the "thisness" of things, he saw them from God's side, saw into ultimate reality. "External nature was to Hopkins a sublime theophany."

Because of the intense reality of his matter, its sharp individuality, Hopkins needed a fresh style. He is the type and example of all who ruthlessly smash dead form in order to make living form. His "sprung rhythm," his dislocation and new-jointing of grammar (which Mr. Gardner aptly calls "sprung syntax"), his verbal coinages, his images whose relevancy is left to feeling or guesswork—it was for these that Hopkins was at first baffling and unacceptable, and is now fascinating but still baffling. Let us glance at one of his most characteristic things, *The Windhover*.

I caught this morning morning's minion, king-
dom of daylight's dauphin, dapple-dawn-drawn Falcon, in his riding
Of the rolling level underneath him steady air, and striding
High there . . .

The falcon is the darling of morning, the dauphin of the kingdom of daylight, painted in dawn-dapple ; the phrases are otherwise arranged, for the sake of alliteration, assonances, rhythm. The long qualification of *air* is put in front, Greek or German-wise. The verse is not mere free verse. Hopkins sought strenuously to have it both ways, to gain a freedom English metre had not allowed under the syllabic system but to keep the order and force of metrical rule. There are five feet in each line. A strong stress, with or without an unfixed number of weak syllables following it, makes a foot ; the poet is free to count as metrically weak syllables bearing ordinary word-stress. How are we to choose the right five ? Sometimes he marks them. When he does not, his commentators have disagreed startlingly. The rhetorical effect intended is the chief clue. Sprung rhythm, he said, was the most rhetorical and emphatic of rhythms. What he planned was thus largely a vocal art, and to hear him read his poems should have been a great experience. We can only reconstruct with much trial and error, testing the effects aloud. The third line, as marked by Mr. Gardner, surely gives a fine effect of representative rhythm. Between lines 1 and 2 is an example of the bold *over-roving* (Hopkins would not say *enjambment*) by which the whole is made a rhythmical unit. The octet continues about the falcon, and concludes—

My heart in hiding
Stirred for a bird,—the achieve of, the mastery of the thing.

But the sestet is a *locus classicus* of Hopkinsian obscurity :

Brute beauty and valour and act, oh, air, pride, plume, here
Buckle ! AND the fire that breaks from thee then, a billion
Times told lovelier, more dangerous, O my chevalier !
No wonder of it : sheer plod makes plough down sillion
Shine, and blue-bleak embers, ah my dear,
Fall, gall themselves, and gash gold-vermilion.

In the first of these lines we are to take the stress as distributed between *Brute* and *beauty* in foot 1, and between *plume* and *here* in foot 5 ; in the last line a stress is distributed between *Fall* and *gall*. But for the meaning ? The poem is explicitly addressed *To Christ our Lord*, and without doubt *my chevalier* is Christ, infinitely more admirable than *daylight's dauphin*. The supreme of nature, exemplified in the falcon, is to *buckle* before Christ, that is, to yield to rule ; the natural man is to travail and serve and sacrifice himself. Mr. Gardner aptly quotes from *Macbeth*—

He cannot buckle his distemper'd cause
Within the belt of rule.

The reward is above nature's beauty and power, it is supernatural fire. No wonder, for does not the ploughshare shine in reward of labour when it buckles to its task ; do not the dead embers, symbol of pain and waste, break to reveal that they still glow ? Crucifixion and glory are evidently alluded to in the last line ; the Christian is severed from nature to be assimilated in martyrdom to Christ. It remains to be said that not only the sestet refers to Christ but the octet as well. Mr. Gardner quotes from one of Hopkins's sermons in which he dwells on traditional accounts of Christ's physical beauty, and concludes : " In his Passion all this strength was spent, this lissomness crippled, this beauty wrecked, this majesty beaten down."

So we feel and more than guess about *The Windhover*. With other pieces our guessing is less conclusive. There is no doubt that Hopkins leaves us guessing more than almost any poet. When Bridges was puzzled by

I'll not play hypocrite
To own my heart

—taking *own* for a verb, Hopkins told him: "*Own my heart* is merely *my own heart* transposed for rhythm's sake and then *tamquam exquisitius*, as Hermann would say." Should we have known? A poet must put his own stamp on that common thing language. But he must leave it common enough to be current, or he will not be understood; he will have failed in the essential artistic task of imposing himself and his vision on a material outside himself. A personal utterance is indispensable, but a private language is artistic failure. Hopkins, unlike some moderns, valued meaning. He urgently desired to shape and convey it, and he knew that clarity was the high aim of art. But the lack of an audience was serious. He could not know when he succeeded, and there is no doubt that he often half unconsciously yielded to the temptation of satisfying himself alone.

Mr. Gardner's book is the first of two volumes, of which the second cannot be published until after the war. This is unfortunate, as we are continually referred to the unpublished part for the fuller discussion of some matter in hand. But what we have is good. After an introductory account of Hopkins's two vocations, priesthood and poetry, Mr. Gardner gives a long commentary on *The Wreck of the Deutschland*, greatest of the poems, but to many people still (as to Bridges) "a great dragon folded in the gate to forbid all entrance." Then follow chapters on Hopkins's Sonnet Morphology, his Diction and Syntax, his Themes and Imagery, Critics and Reviewers (a full conspectus from the beginning to 1942), and his relation to modern poetry; at the end is a full and most useful bibliography.

On the relation of Modern poetry to Hopkins Mr. Gardner is excellent. He distinguishes various influences which might be mistaken for Hopkins's—Browning's new diction, the obscurity of the French Symbolists, Blake, Donne, the Greek and Old English imitations of Pound, the work of Doughty and Rilke, etc. He shows on the other hand that the influence of Hopkins began to work long before he was directly known, through Bridges' imitations of his rhythm and diction in poems like *London Snow*.

Close imitation of Hopkins has been frequent since 1930, but not very successful. It seems that in truth he is not very well understood. He is often scanned as free verse, whereas he always intended metre. His staccato poetic logic has been taken for the abandonment of logic, the expression of the mere subconscious. Mr. Day Lewis says Hopkins mixes colloquial and incantatory diction, which is what he does himself; Mr. Gardner replies that Hopkins does not mix but *blends* them, keeping unity of tone. Hopkins has gained much transitory popularity through his resemblance, in part deceptive, to the Moderns. But a knowledge of the true Hopkins is growing, and Mr. Gardner has done much to help it.

J. J. H.

IRISH POETRY FROM THE ENGLISH INVASION TO 1798. By Russell K. Alspach. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Milford. 1943. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Alspach's purpose, as he writes in his Preface, "is two-fold: to tell the story, from the English invasion to the abortive rebellion of 1798, of the poetry written in English in Ireland that can with justice be called 'Irish'; and to show how the stories of Irish mythology and the material of Gaelic poetry were put into English during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, thereby bringing about

an Irish poetry more distinctively Irish than anything that had gone before and ultimately giving to William Butler Yeats and his fellow poets much of their inspiration."

In the first movement of this double purpose Mr. Alspach begins by covering ground already covered by Archdeacon Seymour in his well-known *Anglo-Irish Literature*, 1200-1582. It is therefore natural that, in spite of occasional differences of opinion or addition of a detail, these early chapters hardly do more than repeat in new form the story already told with greater wealth of quotation by Archdeacon Seymour. Mr. Alspach adds, however, a chapter on " The Seventeenth Century : Fingal, Forth, and Bargy," and another on the period from 1700 to 1798. These chapters contain interesting matter outside the scope of the earlier book. Professor Myles Dillon, in a review published in *The Journal of English and German Philology*, XLIII, No. 1, Jan., 1944, p. 113, has pointed out that a search of the catalogues of manuscripts in the Irish language would occasionally reveal pieces of English verse an account of which might have been included in these extra chapters. He is thinking of the occasional English verse of Gaelic poets. Ó Bruadair's playful address *To all his friends in Kerry*, for instance, contains better verses than most of the seventeenth-century poems quoted by Mr. Alspach, and is interesting too by reasons of its rimes, which are at times formed on an Irish model :—

> If that my friends you chance to see
> my love to them remembered be,
> but the most to Robert Sanders
> who ne'er cared for gloomy ganders . . .
>
> . . . For Will Trant, if not grown airy
> by the darkness of his dairy,
> sure I have a kindness for him
> since my cattle are *post mortem* . . .
>
> . . . Begging also that my jesting
> may to no man prove infesting,
> this, instead of better pendant,
> bear to Kerry from your servant
> David Bruoder,
> Feb. 25th, 1673.[1]

In fulfilling the second part of his purpose Mr. Alspach is on ground never before covered with the same end in view. Here he is tracing " the way in which the matter of Ireland was made available in English through the work of the historians, chroniclers, and translators from the third quarter of the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth." Beginning with Campion, Stanihurst, and the Book of Howth, he continues the story of the interpretation of Irish legend to English-speaking readers down as far as Theophilus O'Flanagan, who in 1808 edited " the first and only volume of *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Dublin*."

This part of Mr. Alspach's work supplies a real want. His treatment of the subject could hardly be bettered, though deeper acquaintance with Gaelic-Irish learning might here and there have enabled him to be more precise on certain points. Instead, for instance, of suggesting tentatively that Keating was the source used by O'Flanagan in his " historical " account of the Deirdre story, he might have learnt from Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* (p. 322), that O'Flanagan was

[1] Part of a poem printed in full by Fr. J. C. MacErlean, S.J., *The Poems of David Ó Bruadair*, Pt. II (1913), pp. 16-19 (Irish Texts Soc., XIII).

following the ninth-century version as transcribed by an eighteenth-century scribe (in the manuscript now numbered H.1.13 in the library of Trinity College, Dublin) from the sixteenth-century manuscript numbered Eg. 1782 in the British Museum. The source of O'Flanagan's romantic version of the same story might also have been more precisely indicated, namely the Trinity College manuscript numbered H.1.16 copied by the same eighteenth-century scribe, Hugh O'Daly, from some unidentified original. O'Flanagan's translation of this fourteenth or fifteenth century romantic version of the Deirdre story is stated to have " provided some of the writers of the late nineteenth century revival not only with the outline of the story but also with actual phrases and imagery." In discussing the illustrative quotations from Lady Gregory's *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* (1902) which follow this statement, the possible claims of Whitley Stokes and Richard O'Duffy's translations (1887 and 1898) to have been the immediate source used by Lady Gregory are ignored.

These, however, are minor points. What is important is that Mr. Alspach has traced clearly the main paths by which Irish legend became known to English-speaking Irishmen during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nor are students of Anglo-Irish literature the only readers who may derive profit from Mr. Alspach's book. His account of the late sixteenth century Book of Howth will, for instance, remind Gaelic scholars of a source not always consulted by them; and recorders of Irish oral tradition will be interested by an earlier reference of Mr. Alspach's (p. 28) to an Elizabethan version of " an Irish song interlined with English translation as follows :—

> You and I will go to Finegall.
> You and I will eat such meats as we find there.
> You and I will steal such beef as we find fat.
> I shall be hanged and you shall be hanged. What shall our children do?
> When teeth do grow unto themselves, as their fathers did before."

This verse, in slightly different form, is still sung in Irish. I have heard it as follows from Domhnall Bán Ó Céileachair, of Coolea, Ballyvourney, Co. Cork, author of *Sgéal mo Bheatha* (1940) :—

> *Racha mise, racha tusa, síos fén ngleann.*[1]
> *Goidfe mise, goidfe tusa, bó 'gus gamhain.*
> *Crochfar mise, crochfar tusa, 's cad a dhéanfaidh ár gclann?*
> *Cuma mise, cuma tusa, nuair ná beimíd ann!*

When the war is over and the Hanmer papers (from which the English lines have been quoted[2]) are once more available for consultation, it will be interesting to discover how far the sixteenth-century Irish is in agreement with the Ballyvourney version. That that version did not originate in Ballyvourney is clear from consideration of the forms *racha mise, goidfe mise,* which in normal Ballyvourney Irish would be *rachad-sa,*[3] *goidfead-sa.*

G. M.

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[1] Originally perhaps *síos Fine Gall.* The Irish stanza may be translated as follows: " I will go, you will go down along the glen (originally perhaps ' down [through] Fine Gall '). I will steal, you will steal, a cow and a calf. I shall be hanged, you shall be hanged, and what shall our children do? All the same [to] me, all the same [to] you, when we shall not be there! "

[2] *Calendar of State Popers* (*Ireland*) 1601–1603, pp. 681–682.

[3] In prose *raghad-sa.*

CLASSICS

PAIDEIA. The Ideals of Greek Culture. By Werner Jaeger. Volume II. Translated by Professor Gilbert Highet. Oxford: Blackwell. 1944. 22s. 6d. net.

THIS second volume of what may well be regarded as Professor Jaeger's *magnum opus* has been eagerly awaited by classical scholars since the first was published in German ten years ago. Its distinguished author, long famous for his magnificent monograph on Aristotle, has found and successfully followed up a new clue to the history of Greek thought. By relying on this clue he is able, better than has ever before been done, to relate together every manifestation of the Greek intellect, from the poetry of Homer and Tyrtaeus to the atomic physics of Democritus. Hitherto scholarship has tended, with increasing vigour, to separate the remains of Greek literary tradition into specialist compartments and these again into smaller specialisms. Thus the history of Greek philosophy was treated for the past century and a half as the matrix for the various systems which have proliferated in modern Germany, and their divisions and standards of interpretation have been ruthlessly applied in the effort to uncover its secrets. In the same way Greek poetry has been the battleground for a whole series of *Fragen*, many of them irrelevant, not to say impertinent; while history, oratory, and the sciences like medicine have become almost separate disciplines. Dr. Jaeger's great and lasting merit is that, coming as he does at the end of a classic age of German scholarship—he was the pupil and successor of Wilamowitz at Berlin—he has opened the way to a new and most promising synthesis.

His clue is indicated by his title, and is clearly the one which would have been offered by the great Greeks themselves, if they had been available for the asking. They would have refused to recognise poetry, oratory, history, science and philosophy as separate disciplines, and would have called them all parts of *paideia*. It is true that the Sophists regarded themselves, with their new art of prose discourse, as having transcended the ancient poets, and that Socrates and Plato claimed to have transcended both. These very claims are a proof of a fundamental unity of view, and it is this unity that we must recover, not only for the better understanding of the Greeks, but most of all for our own sakes, if we are to remain civilised. Our word "culture" only partly represents what was meant by *paideia*. Nothing can better illustrate the importance the Greeks attached to the concept than the story repeated by Dr. Jaeger on p. 70 of this book. When Demetrius the Sacker wished to compensate the philosopher Stilpon, after the looting of Megara, for the plunder taken from his house, Stilpon declined to make an inventory, saying: "No one has taken my *paideia*." The word thus wittily used summed up for the cultivated Greek all that made life worth living. Its true representative is modern Christian humanism, the central tradition of all Western culture.

Professor Jaeger's first volume was a striking illustration of the effectiveness of his synthetic method. Beginning with Homer and ending with Thucydides, it showed better than any other single book the unity in diversity of classical Greek thought. This unity was given by the never-ending effort to arrive at a concept of *paideia* adequate for the needs of each new generation. At the end of the fifth century, the effort, after a series of astonishing successes, seemed to have come to an impasse with the nihilism which was the product of the Athenian golden age. Externally and internally this end-term of all culture found its clearest expression in the calamity of the Peloponnesian War and in the spirit of the philosophic, atheistic historian. The leaven in the mass was Socrates, who made no compromise with the spirit of the age and who died as its victim and its conqueror. With him the second volume of *Paideia* fittingly begins, and its first two chapters are a truly notable contribution to modern Socratic literature. While giving full credit to other interpreters, Dr. Jaeger follows his own chosen clue, and it leads him to a reasonable

solution of the Socratic mystery. For this, which is very much a matter of skilful and sensitive interpretation, the reader must be referred to the book itself; no attempt at a brief summary could do it justice.

The remainder of this second volume is an elaborate commentary on Plato's earlier writings, ending with three long chapters on the *Republic*. The other works chosen for special treatment, because of their close relation to the central theme of *paideia*, are *Protagoras*, *Gorgias*, *Meno*, and *Symposium*. Dr. Jaeger rightly groups the first three together and assigns them to the same period—thus, it is to be hoped, ending once for all the confusion caused by such attempts as that of Wilamowitz to date *Protagoras* very early and that of Taylor to date it rather late. He emphasises also soundly the close kinship between *Gorgias* and *Republic*, which was recently made clear by Cornford. Each of these works represents a single phase of a doctrine which, as Paul Shorey insisted nearly half-a-century ago, has an essential unity in its apparent development The *Republic* is, of course, the final statement of this doctrine, and Dr. Jaeger shows how certain of its features, such as the part assigned to women in the ideal State, must represent views expressed in oral teaching long before they were written down. The clue to the full meaning of Plato's masterpiece was given long ago by Rousseau when he said that it was not a political system, but the finest treatise on education ever written. Every aspect of its rich and varied content is illuminated afresh in this penetrating and suggestive commentary.

M. T.

Economics and Politics

THE BANK OF ENGLAND, 1694-1944. By Sir John Clapham. 2 vols. Cambridge University Press. 1944. 42s.

THE BANK OF ENGLAND. By Reginald Saw. London: Harrap. 1944. 9s. 6d.

Sir John Clapham's two volumes were written at the request of the Bank of England to mark the 250th anniversary of its foundation. All its surviving records were placed at the author's disposal; the staff gave their full co-operation; while for the overlap of the period into the twentieth century (the story ends at 1914) Directors and Officers now in retirement were available to supplement the documentary material with their personal knowledge. In addition, external contemporary sources, including State Papers and a variety of currency tracts and polemical pamphlets, were freely drawn upon. Altogether a great mass of original material, only now brought up to the light of day after long entombment in the archives of the Bank, is incorporated in Sir John's work. In this connection the pages covering the early history of the Exchequer Bill are perhaps of particular interest, but newly-accessible papers have been consistently of value throughout.

The Bank of England was chartered in 1694 primarily to finance a warring government—a war-mongering one, the Tories said. Through all the development and modification of function which the next two centuries produced in its business—loans to private individuals fading out, a strict discount code crystallizing, mortgages being toyed with and dropped and country issues absorbed—this original purpose, to stand ready to assist the government of the day, seems to have held its own remarkably in the counsels of the Court. Dealing with the Bank's Committee of Treasury, Perceval succeeded in getting a loan of £3,000,000, interest-free, in 1808. There was similar, possibly excessive, complaisance about lesser sums in 1821-1824 and at other times before and after, apart from the perennial business of handling short bills. The loan might sometimes be in the nature of a douceur, the price of a renewal of the Charter; but it was by no means always so. Governors like Jeremiah Harman, without necessarily questioning that the Bank of England was a profit-

making corporation competing on terms of equality with the other banks, insisted nevertheless on a certain paramount duty of accommodating the Exchequer. The Bank would bargain with the Treasury, it is true, and even protest against the terms asked or (as during the Pitt Administration) against a Treasury breach of terms already agreed. In the end, however, the declared needs of the Government would be deferred to.

Apart from a few traditions of this kind, the links between the Bank of " Mercers' Chappell " days and the great institution regulated by Peel's Act 150 years later are very slight. Liquidity was, of course, an abiding problem. The Directors were preoccupied with this from the beginning. Runs on the Bank were precipitated by the bursting of the South Sea Bubble, by the rumblings of the Fifteen and the Forty-five, by various other Jacobite or invasion scares as in 1707-1708, earlier still by threats of concerted action on the part of the resentful goldsmiths ; but these storms blew over. Serious enough in their time, the crises of the initial period inevitably look like musical comedy beside those of the normally prosperous nineteenth century, which were rarer, graver and as a rule different in origin—commercial rather than political.

In bringing his narrative up to 1914, Sir John Clapham just gives himself the necessary room to trace out to completion what was probably the cardinal revolution in the character of the Bank, namely, its definite emergence from the " London " phase to appear at last as a fully-armed Central Bank with national responsibilities. It is interesting to mark some of the steps by which this far-reaching change was carried through. Bank of England branches were opened in 1826. There were experiments in lending to municipalities, a growing readiness of the Bank to marshal its surplus resources and fling them in wherever they might be needed to stave off a crisis. When good paper was brought to it for discount, there was a relaxing of the once rigid rule that it must carry a City name. Under Bagehot's influence, serious attention was given to the question of ensuring adequate central reserves. The familiar technique of movements of Bank Rate made effective by open market operations was hatched out in the late fifties. All these developments point to the transition that was occurring. Quite possibly the Bank first journeyed afield merely because it was hard pressed to find suitable new assets within its ancient orbit. Possibly also, in fostering its provincial affiliations, it was influenced by a dim fear of being ultimately dwarfed by the commercial banks, which were growing so much faster. It came in time to take a more positive view of its opportunities.

Its ethics evolved slowly enough towards their ultimate high standard. The subscription for the circulation, an attractive investment for the Bank early in the eighteenth century, was " filled for the most Part by People in the Management and their Favourites." At this time, too, relations with the state were lubricated by the customary New Year's gift of 340 guineas to the Officers of the Exchequer : Pitt put a stop to that in 1797. Directors had patronage in the nomination of clerks. Again, when things were not going too well, a big bonus was clapped on to the yearly dividend to turn away the wrath of the General Court ; though that did not happen often. " Money and presents to a very considerable amount " found their way to the underpaid clerks of the Discount Office from would-be discounters of bills. Most of these abuses, however (including the niggardly payment of the clerks), were effectively eliminated before they could become either widespread or traditional. Nor did they ever touch the major business, in which the Bank held aloof from seriously disreputable transactions throughout its career.

Sir John's preesentation of his voluminous material is on the whole highly satisfactory. Occasional rough balance sheets would help to clarify a few obscure points in the text : exactly how, for instance, were the ingraftment of tallies and the bonus of July 1719 (Vol. I, pp. 61, 82, 88n, 96) treated in the accounts ? More

frequent indication of the year to which transactions refer would cut out a certain amount of back-reference that ought to be unnecessary. In comparisons of gold output at different times, fine ounces are the proper measure, not pounds sterling. These points, however, in a work of such a scale, are of relatively small account. It is a work written in an easy style, with a scholar's knowledge of the general political background and with an extraordinary wealth of documentation ; as an authoritative history of the Bank of England and a source-book for writers on special aspects of that history it is unlikely to be superseded easily or soon.

Mr. Saw's much slighter book is well sugared for the general reader. It is an enlivening piece of journalistic commentary concerned mainly with what is personal and picturesque in the Bank's story : capitalisation, gold, the note-issue and other weighty matters are introduced in moderate force to provide ballast. In one chapter there is an unsystematic attempt to catalogue some of the scattered allusions made to the Bank in English literature. Another is given over to melancholy case-histories of its notable servants in past generations—a succession of clerks hanged for forgery ; a giant buried in the garden ; the impoverished George Dawson, whose wife had given birth to thirty-two children ; the Chief Cashier who in half a century spent at Threadneedle Street took one holiday and returned homesick after three days. There is a most interesting account, reaching to the present day, of the history and architecture of the Bank buildings. To this account the many engravings and photographic plates are a valuable supplement.

In the preface Mr. Saw declares himself a believer in fairly copious quotation. Consonantly with this, his chronicle is studded with extracts from speeches and written works of numerous celebrities, ancient and modern. These are cited with extreme trustfulness, not to say reverence. What Mr. Saw has not properly understood is, firstly, that even the greatest philosopher, historian or politician may not be universally accepted as an authority on difficult issues of economic policy ; and, secondly, that economists themselves—the thinkers lumped together as such by people outside the trade—are in fact of very unequal standing, so that some degree of knowledge of their credentials is quite essential before their views can safely be taken as representative of the best economic thought. There are no really gross errors of selection in Mr. Saw's pages, but there are errors. His gallery of experts is a very unusual assortment, little as he seems to be aware of the fact. Count Kessler's appreciation of the momentous nature of the Genoa Conference, for instance, is probably more dramatic than accurate (p. 83). The same holds of certain of Mr. Churchill's observations (p. 86) made at the time of the return to the gold standard in 1925. Some of the statistics, too, such as the figure for the " average output of gold production " (*sic*) in the period 1493-1850, are of problematical significance. Lack of intimacy with economics is suggested by several references to the period 1926-31 in which contradictory views are naively recorded and equal approval given to each.

While parts of the book tend to irrelevancy—General Draper's pronouncements on international law could have been dispensed with—what Mr. Saw has to tell of the Bank is told well, with colour and warmth and without worship. There are apt, though sketchy, references to the international situation in its bearing on events in Britain. Thus the flotation of the South Sea Company is linked up with expectations " that under the Treaty of Utrecht the King of Spain would, out of gratitude, open the ports of his American colonies to English trade." Disproportionate attention is given to crises, and the Bank did not find itself so frequently on the verge of collapse as Mr. Saw suggests. There were times of real strain, nevertheless—including riots as well as runs—and his accounts of these are very diverting.

PETER BRENNAN

MAX WEBER AND GERMAN POLITICS: A Study in Political Sociology. By J. P. Mayer. London: Faber and Faber. 1944. 8s. 6d. net.
HIGHER EDUCATION IN NAZI GERMANY. By Professor A. Wolf. London: Methuen. 1944. 5s. net.

READERS of Professor R. H. Tawney's classic, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, will be familiar with the name and some of the views of Max Weber, who died in Heidelberg in 1920. It was Weber's essay on *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, of which the first part (the only part as yet translated into English) was published in 1904, that gave the chief stimulus to the researches of Troeltsch and Tawney himself into the influence of religious ideas on modern economic development. Born in 1864 and for many years professor of economics at Heidelberg, Weber was one of the most significant and fruitful influences on German historical economic, and political thought during the later imperial epoch. His actual teaching was much interrupted by illness, and his activity never got beyond the fringe of politics, but his writings enjoyed a wide public, and since his death his fame has increased. In 1926 his widow published a very valuable biography, and his essays have been collected into a number of volumes.

English readers, to whom most of these works are still inaccessible, will be proportionately grateful to Dr. Mayer for his brief but well-documented study, with its serviceable apparatus of notes, bibliography, and index. It is the fruit of work extending over ten years, part of which has already appeared in the *Dublin Review*. Dr. Mayer's method is to give a brief analysis, with a running commentary, of each of Weber's most important works. This has the double advantage of enabling the reader to form at least a tentative judgment for himself and of encouraging him to extend his knowledge by consulting the original sources. In the present situation, when books are so difficult to procure, it will certainly guide many students to a clearer appreciation of a thinker whose fame they had hitherto to take more or less on trust.

In appearance a very typical German professor of the imperial period, Weber was a profound, if not very philosophical or consistent, political thinker. Dr. Mayer laments the fact that his philosophical foundations were inadequate for the power and originality of his ideas on current movements and events, and Professor Tawney criticises even his judgment on Protestant ethics and their economic implications as not being sufficiently subtle nor allowing enough for the complex nature of the subject. In his political views he seems to have struggled all his life long to reconcile a series of incompatibles. In a sense his fate—for all his personal fame and success—was rather a tragic one. His father, by whom he was greatly influenced, was a member of the National Liberal Party, which supported Bismarck till 1878 and which was destroyed by the great Chancellor when once he had by its help achieved his aim in founding the Empire. After the *Kulturkampf*, in which it gave Bismarck every assistance, the party gradually sank into insignificance, from which it only emerged for a brief period under the Republic.

Weber always remained a Liberal in the sense that he believed in responsible government and in the leadership of the middle class. He was a penetrating critic of Marxism, while fully realising its power and appeal, and was always hostile to the Catholic Centrum, which he accused of aiming at a "*Kaplanokratie*". No one in Germany understood so clearly the dangers of the trend towards universal State control and dominance by the civil servants, which dangers were already visible in the Second Reich long before the war of 1914-18. Yet he was typical of his people and generation in his insistence that Germany was and must be a *Machtstaat*, a State whose essence was power. This idea became, as Dr. Mayer says, the *leitmotiv* of his political sociology, and he could never rid himself of his obsession with the primacy of force. With this cardinal article of his faith went another which was

equally disastrous and equally tragic: his longing for a "charismatic" leader and his view that it is a "gift of grace" for a people to find one. Like an inherited taint, the ambiguous relation of the German Liberals to Bismarck was passed on by thinkers like Weber to embody itself in the political forms of a new era. Dr. Mayer's book is in essence a study of this strange inheritance in the person of its most distinguished carrier.

Professor Wolf's book is hardly worthy of its good paper, large print, and convenient format, which one wishes could have been at the disposal of Dr. Mayer—at any rate as far as the paper is concerned. Its main contents can easily be guessed at; its method is to string together an interminable series of quotations from every conceivable source, good, bad, and indifferent, with a truly *wissenschaftlich* list of these sources at the end. The relevance, and indeed, perhaps, one may say the wisdom, of the quotations is not always obvious. Thus Catholics are hardly likely to be disposed to enthusiasm for Professor Wolf's tact and acumen by this from p. 83: "Hitler has borrowed so much from the Catholic Church that it may be reasonably supposed he has also learned something about 'pragmatic fictionism' from the same source. The name is new, but the idea is old, and was adequately expressed in the remark attributed to Pope Leo X: 'What profit has not the fable of Christ brought to us!'" M. T.

Philosophy and Theology

CURSUS PHILOSOPHICUS Collegii Maximi Ysletensis Societatis Jesu:
Critica, Auctore J. Dávila, S.J., 294 pp., $6;
Cosmologia, Auctore Jacobo Gustavo Moran, S.J., 392 pp., $10;
Theologia Naturalis, Auctore Raphaele Martínez del Campo, S.J., 432 pp., $10.
Mexico: Buena Prensa. 1944.

Those who are affected by the present impossibility of obtaining new copies of Philosophy text-books in Latin will particularly welcome the appearance of these three volumes, the first publications in the series of manuals which the Philosophy Professors of the Jesuit *Collegio Maximo* of the Mexican Province have had in preparation and which it is hoped to complete in the near future. All three are attractive as well for the excellence of paper and print as for the order and clarity of exposition, which are the essential qualities of a good text-book. They are up to date both in Scholastic and modern questions, and each has an exhaustive bibliography and copious references. Every effort is made, by the use of large print and schemata, to emphasise what is important. The Latin is clear and simple, and a combination of the formal and discursive methods relieves the monotony of the syllogistic process.

The *Critica* conforms in content to the general pattern of Scholastic text-books of Epistemology, but its clarity and naturalness of style make this book more readable than the average manual. The greater space devoted to a systematic analysis and criticism of Kant's Theory of Knowledge is a welcome innovation. A similar account of the Cartesian system might have been included.

The *Cosmologia* contains a complete, if necessarily condensed, treatment of the usual Scholastic problems concerning Quantity, Space, Motion, Time, Matter and Form, and the modern questions of Mechanism, Relativity and Indetermination. Perhaps it is a defect, as a mere matter of order, that the division of the book into three parts—*Cosmologia Statica, Cosmologia Dynamica, Cosmologia Synthetica*—relegates the central problem of Hylomorphism to the last chapters. The treatment of scientific questions, extending even to the use of mathematical formulae and experimental detail, is here systematic rather than incidental, and to this aspect more space is devoted and the treatment is more up to date than in any similar manual. It is a long way from the subtleties of Scholastic discussions to the

Michelson-Morley experiments and Relativity, and it may be questioned whether a text-book of convenient size can fairly cope with such a wide range, but it has been attempted here—and, one can say, with considerable success.

The *Theologia Naturalis*, while not so detailed as the corresponding work of P. Descoqs, S.J., which it follows in many respects, is on that account more readable and more suited for elementary students. Yet, for its size, it is extraordinarily complete. On Scholastic problems the treatment is along traditional lines. In the proofs for the existence of God, other arguments besides the " five ways " of St. Thomas are introduced : the argument from the beginning of physical motion, that from the eternal verities, that from the natural desire of beatitude, and that from the nature of duty. These arguments are accompanied by interesting discussions as to whether they may be attributed to St. Thomas ; and there is a résumé of recent Scholastic research work concerning the "five ways". The analysis of modern systems, as those of Bergson, Le Roy and Blondel, is penetrating and profound. J. H.

BELIEF AND REASON. By M. C. D'Arcy, S.J. London : Burns and Oates. 1944. pp. vi+106. 5s.

THE nucleus of this short book is formed by six radio talks given by Father D'Arcy on the relations of belief and reason. He has added an introductory chapter, giving in summary form the different theories as to the meaning of faith held by Christians from the Pelagians to Karl Barth, and three valuable appendices on modern difficulties. Though the unity of the book suffers somewhat from this dispersal of the matter, the loss is more than compensated for by the telling directness which the talk-form allows and by the admirable clarity of the outline presented in these forty pages.

With homely examples the author shows that the unbeliever believes a great many things indeed. And the sanity of the belief on which everyday life is built—that of knowledge based on the word of others—does point to the fact that there is no necessary opposition between belief and reason. Many beliefs, however, may be tainted by the disease which the unbeliever attributes to Christian belief—the disease of irrationality. What then is the final test of a belief ? Not merely that it works successfully in practice, a test that is indecisive and dangerous ; but above all that its premises must be true. Christianity demands belief in a revelation ; but it invites and encourages the enquirer to examine the truths of natural religion, philosophy and history which lead up to that revelation. They are the prelude to faith, and it is the unawareness of them in modern times that causes so much confusion when the claims of Christianity are in question. " Far from us an assent of pure faith which should dispense us from accepting or demanding reasons " was not written by a modern rationalist, but by St. Augustine of Hippo. Christianity is not fearful of the evidence in its favour : it knows that no questioning can find it wanting ; it invites examination.

Nor after the act of faith has been made is it demanded that reason lie fallow. What is asked is that the content of faith be explored under the direction and control of revelation. All that is by no means to say that faith is merely reasonable ; the conviction of faith is due to more than human reason ; otherwise it would be neither free nor supernatural. Here, however, Fr. D'Arcy's object is not an analysis of the act of faith. On that he has some very satisfying pages in the final appendix. His aim rather is to show that reason is not suppressed but enlightened in the passage to faith ; that grace is not a substitute for reason but a reinforcement of it ; that the transition from a human point of view to God's point of view is both reasonable and illuminating. Faith does not contradict reason nor do the dogmas which it believes ; but it brings with it a certainty which is beyond reason—the certainty

of God on Whose word it believes. This certainty, moreover, is confirmed, as St. Thomas says, " by the interior instinct due to God's invitation." This latter point is finely developed by Fr. D'Arcy in the letter entitled " A Scientist's Difficulties," where he discusses the certainty which belongs to faith in the light of the more evident qualities of a prudent moral judgement.

The last of the six talks is devoted to the answering of objections, mainly those arising from ill-digested popularisations of scientific theories and the suggestibility of a print-doped world. The answers, which are of necessity brief, are developed in two appendices and in the letter already mentioned. Section three of the Introduction might well be re-read in conjunction with the latter. Together, they throw much light, for believer as well as for unbeliever, on that most stupendous of all choices, the act of faith. D. O'S.

THE CHRISTIAN SACRIFICE. By Canon Eugene Masure. Translated by Dom Illtyd Trethowan, O.S.B. London: Burns & Oates. 1944. 15s.
LITURGY AND PERSONALITY. By Dietrich von Hildebrand. London: Longmans. 1944. 12s. 6d.

CANON MASURE'S *The Christian Sacrifice* is perhaps the most readable and inspiring of the many books on the Mass which have appeared of recent years. It is puzzling that it should have remained for twelve years without an English translation. Would-be translators may well have been daunted by the lyrical quality of the original. What is genuine feeling in French becomes so easily sentimentality in English. Dom Trethowan's lapses are few; he has made an excellent translation.

The work treats in three books of sacrifice in general, of the sacrifice of the Son of God and of the sacrifice of the Mass. In common with most modern writers, the author leaves post-Reformation theories to return to the Augustino-Thomist tradition. Sacrifice, he says, is " *a religious transfer of property* for the greater profit of him who makes the renunciation of his goods." In the giving back of man's goods to God there is oblation; in the pain and deprivation involved in the renunciation of these goods there is immolation. The liturgical apparatus, the visible sign, is the efficacious expression of the invisible sacrifice in the soul. God accepts man's offering, makes it sacred, and it returns to man as an efficacious sign, bringing him by communion a pledge of heavenly blessing and reconciliation.

The sacrifice of the Son of God is the return of His Sacred Humanity to the Father —which, were it not for sin, would have been a return without immolation, without pain. But He, our Head, enfolds our religion in His own, and in his pain-filled return to the Father brings to Him all the sacrifices which we would have to offer in order to return to God. This return gains its full effect only when God receives and ratifies the Victim of the sacrifice. The final phase of the sacrifice must be an apotheosis in which all that seemed lost is regained. The glorification by the Father is the final phase in the sacrifice of the Son.

This sacrifice of Christ becomes ours in the Mass, which is the sacrifice of the Church. The bread and wine which she offers, as the sign of her adoration and repentance, become by transubstantiation the sign or species of the Victim immolated on Calvary. The Victim of Calvary is made *our* Victim: there is no new immolation distinct from that of the Cross. " The body of Christ, without undergoing any fresh modification but remaining the immolated and now glorified victim of the one and only sacrifice, becomes through a marvellous transubstantiation the matter of another sacrificial act to which it will bring the virtue of its own immolation and all the redemptive fruits of which it was and is the efficacious sign." Thus we have all the reality of the religion of Christ under the species of our own. " Christ is immolated on the altar, because, under figures which represent the immolation of the Cross, He produces in us its invisible fruits." The celebration of the Eucharist

is at once the representative image and the efficacious sign of Christ's passion; it is at once sacrifice and sacrament.

What Masure's permanent contribution will be to the controverted question of what constitutes the essence of the Mass is a question for the theologians. They will query, we think, his concept of sacrifice as a transfer of property and demand more adequate proofs in its support than he has supplied. Many will not be satisfied that he has allowed their full value to the sacrifices of the Old Law, given their importance in illustrating that of the New. All will certainly demand more precisely formulated definitions and a more rigid uniformity in their use. It is here that the enthusiasm of Masure's style leads him into danger; the dry brevity of the manuals has its advantages. On the capital questions of oblation and immolation he does appear at times to be trying to stand simultaneously on both sides of the fence. Again and again he comes back to the "efficacious sign," and again and again his explanation seems to bear on the *what* and *why* of the sacrifice rather than on the *how*. One ancient theologian in particular will have something to task him with. Unless the Beatific Vision has quelled his keenness for theological argument, Melchior Cano, O.P., will almost certainly want to know by what authority the theory of the moral causality of the sacraments has been presented as the household property of his old friends the Jesuits. And so will some of the latter as well!

That the author has "succeeded in showing that the traditional formulas are truer and richer in meaning than the faithful generally believe" there can be no gainsaying. His work will be an inspiration to both priest and layman and will deepen immensely their appreciation of the Mass. That it has, however, "all the answers," as the translator optimistically claims, we may fairly doubt.

Dr. Hildebrand's book may be described as a study of the man who lives in the spirit of the Christian Sacrifice. To avoid controversy, he uses the word Liturgy in a sense admitted by all: the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass (which is liturgy in the highest sense), the Divine Office, and the administration of the Sacraments and sacramentals. Personality he uses neither in the strict philosophic sense nor in the popular sense of the possession of a strong character. For him "a personality is the man who rises above the average only because he fully realises the *classical human* attitudes, because he knows more deeply and originally than the average man, loves more profoundly and essentially, wills more clearly and correctly than the others, makes full use of his freedom; in a word—it is the complete, profound, true man." To live in the spirit of the liturgy is to be profoundly transformed into a personality, a transformation all the more effective that it is not the essential aim of the liturgy and is not deliberately sought, but is "brought about in an entirely gratuitous manner through an attitude meaningful in itself." Dr. Hildebrand is concerned not so much with those components of personality which are the pure gifts of God, that is with the natural basis which is the essence of the person and the supernatural basis which is the life of grace; but rather with the organic link, the intentional contact with the world of values. He thus deliberately limits the aim of the book and treats more of the Mass and of the Divine Office than of the Sacraments, in which ontological causality stands foremost.

Every value demands an adequate response from the person because it is a value; it demands that we forget self and give ourselves up to God Who speaks to us in all true values. But "the egocentric man transforms his giving himself up to value into a means for his own perfection, whereby he is not interested in this perfection because of the glorification of God but because it is *his own* perfection." The Mass, on the contrary, embodies in unique fashion the spirit of true response-to-value; for in it the due response of adoration and repentant love is given to God's infinite majesty and holiness. The man formed in this spirit will extend it to all other values, always remembering that there is a hierarchy in these. For whatever

is good and beautiful is a reflection of God, and in affirming their values, hearing God's call contained in them and responding to it, man is giving himself up to God. He will rejoice in the glow of purity in the eyes of a slum-child as well as in the charm of a Cézanne or the majesty of the Matterhorn. This affirmation leads to union with all that speaks of God and finally to union with God Himself. But the author, no more than the liturgy, does not preach a merely aestheticised attitude to God nor a forgetfulness of self which would exclude one's own person as entirely unessential. " Never in the history of humanity have there been so many ' spectators ' of God and of the world of values. I refer to the people who are enthusiastic about the Church but do not grasp the *tua res agitur* which is implied for each of us in its existence." The Church's liturgy is not for the formation of " hopelessly indifferent aesthetes " who would affirm values and shirk the consequences of their affirmation. A real sense of values and of their hierarchy will frequently demand the most stern renunciation.

This spirit of response-to-value we have touched on at some length as it is Dr. Hildebrand's central idea. He also treats of its essential foundation which is reverence and of its conditions which are spiritual awakeness, discrimination and continuity. The organic element in the liturgy is discussed in a separate chapter, the only one in which the author fails to live quite up to that discrimination which he so brilliantly analyses. The non-liturgical bogey-man, so beloved of right-wing liturgists, makes here a brief appearance. But specimens of the genus bogey-man have been found on examination to be paradoxically organic ! The last chapter, which is also a brief recapitulation of the book, shows how the liturgy is classical in the highest sense of that word ; " seeing everything in the place to which it objectively belongs, all the dimensions clearly revealed, everything unfolded according to its logos and in its organic structure." Without this classical spirit, with its conformity to objective truth and its domination of the unessential by the essential, no true personality can be built.

It is unfair to this profound book to summarise it so inadequately. It is worth reading and reading carefully. This care unfortunately is all the more needful because of the inadequacy of the English : Dr. Hildebrand (or his translator ?) does not share in Canon Masure's gift of style. But ought the reader to complain if, in addition to being enriched by many worth-while ideas, he also develops a fair reading-knowledge of German ?

D.O'S.

Poetry

THE FIRST EXILE. A poem by Robert Farren. London : Sheed & Ward. 1944. 10+229 pp. 8s. 6d.

The earliest extant Irish eulogy is in praise of Colum Cille. It is by Dallán Forguill, a contemporary of the saint, and was written in the late sixth century before verse-forms capable of real poetic beauty had as yet been developed in the Irish language. Within the hundred years that followed Colum's death new metres, based on Latin hymn-models, were adopted by Dallán's successors, permitting the creation of that Old and Middle Irish poetry which is the chief glory of our literature. To these later poets Colum typified the Irish religious exile, and some thousand Middle Irish stanzas by different authors portray him as a prayerful monk filled with lonely longing for the land of his birth. " There is a blue eye," wrote one of them, " that looks back on Ireland : it shall never again see the men of Ireland nor her women." Another pictures the saint on an island, where amid the music of waves and seabirds he will meditate on the marvels of creation, bearing the mystic name ' Back set to Ireland ' (*go madh é m'ainm,—rún no ráidhim,—' Cúl re hÉirinn '*).

The language descended from Old and Middle Irish has ceased to be spoken over the greater part of Ireland, but Colum still remains dear to Irish poets, and

under the title of *The First Exile* Robert Farren, better known in this country as Roibeárd Ó Faracháin, has written some eighty poems in English which cover the whole of the legendary life of the saint. Modes and rhythms elaborated by Yeats and Eliot are evident throughout the volume.

> For O, should spirits nod,
> And take the raucous body's road, how should we come to God?

are good lines—and distinctly Yeatsian. Eliot's influence may equally clearly be seen in lines like

> Now is the Gael beginning unwilling exile.
> This is the first forced leaving, the first heel driven
> from Irish fields, the first of the forth-going feet
> forbidden to come again . . . .

Lyrics of Austin Clarke's may have helped to mould the swiftly-varied fancies of portions of " The Shape-Changer "; and Mr. Farren's own experiments are evident in rimes such as *bottles : sockets*, based on Gaelic models, while his study of Gaelic literature and legend has left its trace on many pages.

Apprenticeship, experiment, and study are indeed necessary in these days of unsettled technique and rediscovery of tradition. During the period of experiment, however, all criticism is difficult, and self-criticism especially so. An experimenter may with reason, for instance, decide that modern technique, a Gaelic atmosphere, and reminiscences of Middle Irish poems would be a mould in which a hitherto unknown perfection might be incarnated. The mould achieved would then doubtless give him personally the joy that comes from achievement. Such joy could well, however, disturb his poetic judgment, rendering him incapable of discriminating between the experience of individual achievement and the experience of that deeper and more universal perfection called poetry. The last three stanzas of " Colmcille at Ben Edair " are as follows :—

> Colm hummocks and listens,
> in the sea's heaving hearing
> Gráinne, unsleeping, whisper
> lú-la-lees for Diarmuid.
>
> " Sleep a little, little sleep
> shall sleep sweet my Duibhne
> when, spears and speed, leap
> from drug-sleep the Fiana."
>
> Colm cons his Ben Édair
> on the gull-mottled water.
> A good Gobán wrought her,
> propylon or prie-dieu.

All the elements of the formula are there, but has the poetic incarnation in fact taken place?

The reader dissatisfied by those lines will doubtless be equally dissatisfied by many pages of *The First Exile*. But the book also contains work that is undoubtedly good. The two long poems on " The Going Forth " and " The Voyage to Iona " are perhaps its most successfully sustained pieces. In " The Shape-Changer " there are also good lines :—

> I have spied out ways
> of melting my flesh and bones to each thing's shape,
> hurtling my spirit into the snake and lark.

In a beam of the sun I have danced with gnats ;
built hives with bees, sucked honey from the bramble ;
gnawed the wren's flesh with eagles ; plaited webs
from bough to bough among spiders ; led the larks
in the dew-song and shower-song,
between the grass-nest and snow-nest . . . . .

. . . . I have been freak and cross-bred, outlandish spawn
of frenzy ; the changeling of change,
I have probed creation, the delicate tip of mind
touching nether life like a naked nerve.

" The Mason " is a really fine poem, though its last lines perhaps need strengthening. And on pp. 133-134 Colum's survey of his community contains passages worthy of its opening—

And whether they prayed with the body
or prayed in the cave of the spirit,
Colm heard the whole of their praying,
as he heard the sounds of summer
weaving and criss-crossing in the daylight
and making one sound, the summer's,
so he heard the praying of the brethren,
as they laboured at their tasks in Iona.

The poems and passages mentioned justify critics in congratulating Mr. Farren on his present achievement, while the clear signs he has given of the seriousness of his study of the art of poetry lead them to hope for achievement richer and more sustained in time to come.

G. M.

Miscellaneous

ARCHITECTURE ARISING. By Howard Robertson. London : Faber and Faber. 1944. 10s. 6d.

It is not infrequently assumed that the so-called *modern style* in architecture is merely a fashion ; and this is the belief not only of the eclectics, who would have all contemporary architecture in the form of classical or mediaeval revivals, but of many of those also who would welcome the new movement simply as something novel or fresh. Were architecture nothing more than a matter of taste, as this assumption would imply, there would be little use in talking about it and still less in writing a book on the subject.

Mr. Robertson, aware of the false sense of historical perspective which has so effectively smoke-screened our approach to the problem of present-day architectural design, very wisely devotes part of his book to clearing the air and establishing a basis on which the new movement can be discussed on rational grounds. But, while admitting that natural expression needs no mask and that fitness for purpose and the structural means by which this is to be achieved must be reasonably indicated in the ultimate general design of the building, he is careful to add that purely functional architecture can also have its limitations. The interpretation of fitness, as he explains, has to be a very broad one, " including workability, adaptability to change, reasonable first cost, low maintenance liability, low obsolescent hazards (actual and visual) and social suitability." And, expanding this point, he shows how even the rigid functionalist himself can develop a one-track mind to the extent of being able only to choose those limited methods of construction which will suit a few favourite and pre-conceived forms of architectural treatment. " It has become," as he says, " almost a fetish to design in accordance with the resources of modern technique, not only to the extent of making use of them when they are apposite, but of planning and designing expressly to employ them."

Dealing with the dangers of the " sensation " value of the new architecture and the consequent neglect of permanent values, Mr. Robertson has also something useful to tell us. " The ability to make a stir, to provide excitement in a world where astonishing events come crowding upon one another to compete for news space, is an asset not commercially to be despised. High-grade novelty is a tremendous draw ; and a large new building, with a facade involving some fresh and bold conception, can to-day become world news . . . . But if the new sensational motif is copied and repeated, and on repetition becomes revealed as uninteresting and tiresome, besides having practical drawbacks, there is little left on the credit side of that particular expression in building. . . . There must be other qualities over and beyond skill and daring and freshness ; for in time the first two become obliterated by new facts, and the third, the freshness, can only be maintained if the design bears the stamp of eternal vitality."

The qualities which make for lasting and permanent architecture are of course to be found in the study of the great buildings of the past. The principles on which they were based are permanent, as such principles must be. It is their expression which has varied from time to time, according to the varying conditions under which they have been applied ; and with equal success the same principles can be applied to-day under conditions which again are different from those of earlier times. How this can be done and the various difficulties of a practical nature which must be overcome before any general measure of success in this connection is achieved, are explained in the remainder of this book ; for, while being a theorist, Mr. Robertson is also an architect of wide and extensive practical experience.

There has been a good deal of muddled thinking about the last twenty-five years of our architectural history. This compact little book should do something to dispel the confusion. Its only noteworthy defect is perhaps the absence of a bibliography ; for, although not a great many English books on the subject have been published, there are others, notably in French, which are deserving of wider publicity.

J. V. D.

THE MUSIC OF LIFE. By Fr. James, O.F.M.Cap. Cork : Mercier Press. 1944. 6s. 6d.

Fr. James's first book, *The Desire of God,* is perhaps the only major philosophical work published by a living Irishman, at least one who still lives in this country. His subsequent books have their own qualities, but in a lower order. All his books speak to us of the eternal truths, but *The Desire of God* shows them to us.

The present work is the record (perhaps real) of a meditation inspired by the spring landscape outside the window of his cell. In such a meditation the thoughts are naturally suggested by the initial emotional response to nature. But it will not include the hammer-and-tongs work of hard reasoning. Nor does this book. It is full of thoughts that anyone versed in philosophy will recognise as those of a profound and distinguished mind. But, while others may applaud, the philosopher will regret that these thoughts are seldom explained and seldomer argued—that the author has stopped so far short of what he could have given us. Such exciting truths as the non-being of a finite world or human thought as a renewal of creation will thus seem to all readers to whom they are new to be intended as merely metaphorical expressions. The sections on work and prayer are full of fragments of wisdom, but just for that reason are fragmentary. A section on art proposes a refreshing divergence from the usual *simpliste* doctrines—though a highly controversial one—but here too downright statement takes the place of discussion. But there are parts of the book, such as an authoritative page proving that beauty is the end of the universe or a chapter on the psychology of children, that will repay anyone, philosopher or layman, who studies them.

A. L.

(The list of books received has been unavoidably held over)

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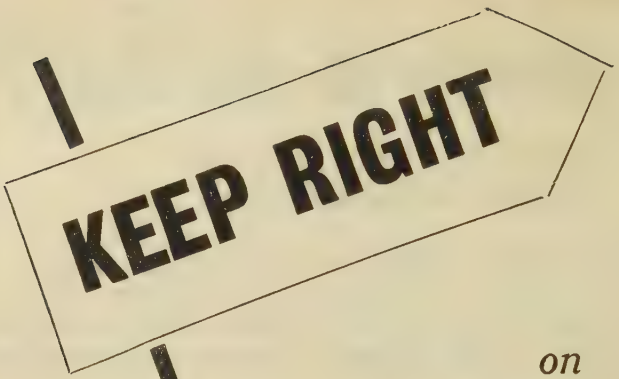

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